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Pope Pius XII: Optatissima Pax

Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pius XII, by Divine Providence Pope, to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops and other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See on Prescribing Public Prayer for Social and World Peace.

VENERABLE Brethren, Greeting and Apostolic Blessing. Peace, longed for so hopefully, which should signify the tranquillity of order¹ and serene liberty,² even after the cruel experience of a long war, still hangs in uncertain balance, as everyone must note with sadness and alarm. Moreover, people's hearts and minds are kept in a state of anxious suspense, while in not a few nations—already laid waste by the world-conflict and its sorry aftermath of ruin and distress—the social classes are being incited to mutual hatred as their continuous rioting and agitation plainly threaten to subvert the very foundations of civil society.

With this scene of disaster and misery before Us, Our heart is heavy with the weight of bitter sorrow and We cannot but feel compelled, by reason of the charge of universal fatherhood which God has laid upon Us, not only to entreat the nations one and all to have done with rancor and make peace once more as friends, but also to urge all Our children in Christ to storm heaven with more fervent prayers, never forgetting that all efforts are inadequate and unavailing if God's good pleasure is not first obtained, according to the inspired words of the Psalmist: "unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

St. Aug., De Civ. Dei, 1, 19, c, 13; St. Thos., II-II, 29, 1 ad Im.
 Cic., 2, a Philippica, c. 44.
 Ps. 126, 1.

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The crisis is most serious indeed. Remedies must be found, and found without further delay. On the one hand the economic system of many nations, as a result of fabulous military expenditures and enormous destruction wrought by the war, has been dislocated and weakened to such an extent as to be powerless to meet the problems with which it is faced, and to provide the materials for appropriate constructive enterprise, where work might be available for the unemployed who now must live their lives in forced and fruitless idleness. On the other hand there is no lack of those who, sad to say, embitter and exploit the working man in his distress, following a secret and astute plan, and thus obstruct the heroic efforts which the forces of justice and order are making to rebuild scattered fortunes.

FACTIONAL STRIFE

But everyone must come to realize that lost wealth will not be recovered, or present wealth secured, by discord, public tumult, fratricide. This result can be achieved only by working together in harmony, by cooperation, by peaceful labor.

Those who deliberately and rashly plan to incite the masses to tumult, sedition, or infringement of the liberty of others are certainly not helping to relieve the poverty of the people but are rather increasing it by fomenting mutual hatred and disturbing the established order; this can even lead to complete chaos. Factional strife "has been and will be to many nations a greater calamity than war itself, than famine or disease."

At the same time it is the duty of all to realize that the world crisis is so serious today and so menacing for the future that it is imperative for all, especially the rich, to place the common welfare above their private advantage and profits.

But it must be clearly and constantly borne in mind that the first and most urgent need is to reconcile the hearts of men, to bring them to fraternal agreement and cooperation, so that they may set to work upon plans and projects in keeping with the demands of Christian teaching and needs of the present situation.

Let all remember that the flood of evil and disaster that has overtaken the world in past years was due chiefly to the fact that the divine religion of Jesus Christ, that provider of mutual charity among citizens, peoples and nations, did not govern, as it should, private, domestic and public life. If things have gone wrong on account of the desertion from V

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Christ, public and private life must return to Him as soon as possible: if error has clouded the minds of men, they must return to that truth which, revealed from on high, indicates the right way to heaven: if hatred has brought them fatal results, they must return to Christian love which alone can heal their many wounds, and carry them over the crisis so filled with danger.

At the approach of the consoling feast of Christmas, which recalls the Child Jesus in the cradle and the choir of Angels singing peace to men, We think it opportune to exhort all Christians, especially those in the flower of youth, to crowd around the holy crib and there to pray the Divine Infant to be pleased to ward off the threats of impending struggles and to quench the torches of revolt. May He illumine with light from above minds which are less often moved by stubborn malice than deceived by errors under the semblance of truth; may He repress and sooth rancor in men's minds, compose discords and give new life and vigor to Christian charity. May He teach those who are wealthy, generosity to the poor, and may He console by His example and aid from on high those who are in need and distress and lead them to desire above all those heavenly gifts which are more precious and lasting.

During the present difficulties, We place much trust in the prayers of innocent children for whom the Divine Redeemer cherishes a special love. Particularly during Christmas time, let them raise to Him their limpid voices and tiny hands, tokens of interior innocence, in united prayer, imploring peace, harmony and mutual charity. To their fervent prayers, We desire them to add the works of Christian piety and those gifts of Christian generosity which may placate the Divine Justice offended by so many crimes, and, as their means allow, bring relief to the needy.

We are confident, Venerable Brethren, that your prompt and zealous action will insure a hearty response to Our paternal exhortation, and that all, especially the young, will answer with enthusiasm this appeal which you will make your own.

Relying on this hope, to each and all of you, Venerable Brethren, as well as the flocks confided to your care, We impart with overflowing heart the Apostolic Benediction, a testimony of Our fatherly affection and a pledge of heavenly graces.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 18th day of December in the year 1947 and the ninth of Our Pontificate.

Pope Pius' Christmas Address, 1947

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THE feast of Christmas and the new year close at hand bring with them certain signs which point a warning finger toward the days to come.

The customary greetings exchanged at this season, which ascend to heaven in a cloud of incense and of prayer, cannot and will not, for all the deep and sincere affection prompting them, allow us to lose sight of the condition which confronts us at the present hour, when Europe and the wide world have reached a turning point of their destiny. The gravity of the crisis is unquestionable, its possibilities for good or evil immeasurable, its issue unpredictable.

When last year on this same occasion We addressed Our Christmas message to the Catholic world, and to all men of good judgment and good will besides, who could have had it in his heart to predict for humanity, tired of war and hungry for peace, what has today become a

cruel, undeniable reality?

Christmas bells will still ring in the feast, as from the days of old. But for many closed, embittered and tormented hearts, they ring out in

the desert, where they wake no living echo any longer.

Now that another postwar year has passed, with its burden of distress and suffering, of disillusionment and privation, those who have eyes to see and ears to hear cannot but be pained and humiliated by this: Europe and the world—even to distant and tormented China—today are farther from real peace, farther from complete and definite safety, farther from a new order based firmly on agreement and justice, than ever they were before.

The champions of negation and disagreement, with the long line of profiteers in their train, are jubilant at the thought—or the illusion—

that their hour is near.

Contrariwise, the friends of peace, the promoters of a lasting reconciliation between the peoples of the world, feel the twinge of anguish in their hearts when they compare the moral and social wealth of Bethlehem's "good tidings" with the misery of a world that has wandered far away from Christ.

But genuine Christians, for whom the whole of life, the source of all

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its lights and worth, consists in "thinking with the Church," perceive and realize better than anyone else the meaning and value of times like ours; times of dense darkness, but of blinding light as well; where the enemy of Christ reaps a vast, tragic harvest of souls, but many also of the good are leading better lives; where generous hearts can scale victoriously the peak of heroism, while numbers of the tepid and the faint of heart, slaves of human respect and afraid of sacrifice, slip into mediocrity or sink into the vile depths of degradation, like these who "neither rebels proved, nor yet were true to God but for themselves were only." (Dante, Inferno.)

STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO FORCES

In the titanic struggle between the two forces now competing for the mastery of the world, if hatred is all that is needed to marshall under the leadership of the evil one men who would seemingly have every ground to disagree, what could love not accomplish toward uniting in a world-wide league those whose high purpose, noble instincts and community in suffering have drawn them together by ties stronger and more intimate than any difference or divergency which could keep them apart? To the millions who are disposed to become members of this world alliance, the charter of which is the message of Bethlehem and its unseen head the King and Peacemaker who lies before us in the manger, We direct at this juncture Our heartfelt appeal.

The brand on the brow of one generation, and the source of its disruption and decadence, is the tendency, every day more obvious, to "insincerity," a lack of honesty, and this not merely as an occasional expedient. No. Today it amounts practically to a system. It has been raised to the distinction of a strategy, in which the lie, the garbled word or fact, and trickery have come to be an accepted weapon of offense, which some people wield with the skill of professionals, even boasting of their competence; so clearly, as they view it, has the suppression of all sense of right and wrong come to be part and parcel of modern technique in the art of forming public opinion, of controlling it and making it serve their political ends. For they are bent on winning at any cost the battle of class-interest and theories, of ideologies and power politics.

We do not propose to describe here in detail the havoc wrought by this tournament of "insincerity" in public life. But We are in duty bound to open the eyes of Catholics all over the world—and of all others besides who share our faith in Christ and a transcendent God—to the dangers which this prevalence of falsehood presents for the Church and Christian civilization, for the entire religious and even merely human heritage which has supplied the peoples of the world with the substance of their spiritual life and of their real greatness for the past 2,000 years.

When Herod of old was plotting anxiously to slay the Babe of Bethlehem, he hid his plan under a pious mask, and tried his best to make honest men into unwitting spies. Likewise today, his modern imitators move heaven and earth to conceal their real purpose from the masses, and make them the unconscious instruments of their designs.

But once they have won power and feel the reins securely in their hands, little by little they let fall the veil, and pass by successive stages from oppression of the dignity and liberty of man to abolition of all authentic and independent religious life.

Here, then, is the question We put to all honest men: how is humanity to recover, how can any "New Order" worthy of the name emerge from the mistakes and agitation of this present hour of confusion, if the lines which mark off friend from foe, yes from no, and faith from lack of faith are to be erased and moved about?

WITH CHRIST OR AGAINST CHRIST

The Church, though her heart is ever full of love and sympathy for these erring souls, cannot fail to denounce error, in loyalty to her Divine Founder's declaration: "He who is not with me, is against me" (Matt. 12, 30). She cannot but tear the mask from the "forgers of lies" (Job 13, 4) who come forward as wolves in sheep's clothing (cf. Matt. 7, 15), as founders and pioneers of a new golden age. She cannot but warn the faithful not to let themselves be lured from the path of rectitude, or be deluded by fallacious promises.

Our position between the two opposing camps is exempt from every prejudice, from any preference for this or that people, for this or that bloc of nations, as it is foreign to any sort of temporal consideration. To be with Christ or against Christ: that is the whole question.

Each of the opposing sides believes itself constrained to this mistrust, as by a duty of elementary precaution. Obviously, this very fact leads to the building of an immense wall which renders hopeless every attempt to bring to the bewildered human family the blessings of true peace.

Have we not had occasion, even during the past few weeks, to experience the tangible results of this mistrust? Have we not seen a most important conference of the great powers adjourn without having taken

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those essential and decisive steps along the road to peace for which the world in its anguish was waiting?

There can be but one way out of the straits to which the cult of "insincerity" has brought the world: the return to the spirit and practice of straightforward honesty.

No one today—to whatever social or political movement or party he may belong—who wants to bring the weight of his convictions and his public acts to bear upon the present or the future destiny of nations, has any right to wear a mask, to appear to be what he is not, to avail himself of the strategy of the lie, of tension and of threats, in order to restrict the honest citizens of every land in the exercise of their just liberty and civil rights.

CURSE OF OUR TIME

You will readily understand, then, how pained We are to see hostile propaganda distorting what We think and say, embittering men's hearts, hindering the peaceful exchange of ideas, and deepening the chasm which separates from Us so many souls redeemed by the Blood of the same divine and loving Saviour. At the bottom of it lies, unfailingly, the same identical duplicity, deliberately adopted and ruthlessly employed as the most incisive weapon with which to combat justice and truth, and hinder mutual understanding, reconciliation and peace.

The inevitable outcome of such a situation is the splitting of humanity into powerful and rival groups, whose highest law of life and conduct is a basic and invincible mistrust. Here is at once the tragic paradox and the curse of our time.

That is why We would remind you, dear sons and daughters, that we celebrate tomorrow the birth of Him from Whose lips one day escaped the cry: "Veritas liberabit vos" (John 8, 32); the truth (which is His teaching) shall make you free. Never, perhaps, has this cry rechoed so loudly as it does today in a world hungry for peace but forced to groan beneath the oppressive yoke of falsehood.

Let all Christendom, too, make answer—to Him Who was made flesh that He might be for all "way, truth and life"—in a prayerful plea that the truth may find its way back to the hearts of the rulers of nations, whose yes or no may determine the fate of the world. And with the truth may there shine out upon the earth no deceptive mirage, but Bethlehem's bright star of peace divine.

II

Those who were absolutely determined to win the war were ready for any sacrifice, even unto death. Those who sincerely wish to win the peace must be ready for sacrifices just as generous, since nothing is more difficult for convulsed and embittered human nature than to forego reprisals and lay aside its unforgiving rancor.

The injustice and cruelty committed by those who unleashed the second world war aroused waves of righteous indignation, but served, alas, at the same time, to develop the seeds of a natural inclination for revenge.

The saner portion of mankind—even among nations chiefly involved in the conflict—unanimously denounced the excesses and atrocities which a political system, falling into moral nihilism, not only practiced during the war which it provoked, but even dared to justify in theory. Facts and documents recently come to light have only served to confirm that those who sponsored and worked out this system are mainly responsible for the world's misery today.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY LOST

Men of the postwar period could have easily confronted this degeneracy with their own moral superiority; unfortunately, in not a few instances, they have let slip a golden opportunity. It must be admitted that the history of the world during the days and weeks and months immediately following the war was very far from being one of unmixed glory.

The punishment justly meted out to the chief culprits could have inspired Dante's pen with scenes for the *Inferno*, but the great poet would have shrunk from depicting the reprisals wrought upon the innocent.

Forced migrations and compulsory hard labor followed later, defying the most elementary laws of humanity as well as the letter and the spirit of the rights of nations. Who, then, could be surprised that the sense of justice which had been rightly shocked at the sight of such deeds perpetrated by one side should also react similarly when it sees others commit them?

Who can measure what further moral domestic and social distress, what harm to the cultural and economic stability of Europe—and not alone of Europe—will be caused by the compulsory and indiscriminate displacement of peoples, what sorrow at present, what anguish for the

future? Only a broader vision, a wiser and more judicious policy on the part of those who hold the fate of the world in their hands, can provide a tolerable solution for an otherwise insoluble problem.

All honor, then, to those of every nation who shirk no privation or shun no labor to hasten the fulfillment of such a noble enterprise. Let them not be troubled at the contradictions and opposition they will have to meet and which precisely in these days seem to have grown more intense, in stimulating another war of nerves, provoking discord, reducing to naught the efforts of the champions of unity and peace. Let them be confident that the hour is at hand—as We trust and ask in Our prayers—when the King of Peace will grant victory to those who do battle for His cause with a right intention and with the weapons of peace.

III

The human race, then, will be powerless to emerge from the present crisis and desolation and to go forward to a more harmonious future unless it restrain and control the forces of division and discord by means of a sincere spirit of brotherhood uniting all classes, all races and all nations with the one bond of love.

We launch such an appeal to the entire world, today, the Eve of Christmas, because We see this spirit of brotherhood in danger of being stifled and crushed: because We see selfish appetites getting the better of sound reason, and the cruel tactics of oppression and violence prevailing over loyal understanding and mutual respect, and the utter disregard for any consequent evils to the detriment of the zealous maintenance of public welfare.

ANXIETY OF THE CHURCH

The Church, whose maternal heart embraces all nations with equal affection, is following with great anxiety this new development in national and international conflicts.

When faith in God, the Father of all men, begins to grow dim, the spirit of brotherly union also loses its moral foundation and cohesive force; and when the consciousness of a society embracing all men, as wished by God, and which includes reciprocal rights and duties, determined by fixed norms, begins to die out, there arise in its place a morbid hyper-sensitiveness to what divides, a ready propensity to overstate one's rights true or imagined, and a neglect—at times thoughtless, but not for that reason less ruinous—for the essential needs of others.

At this point, the way is open for the struggle of all against all; a battle which knows no other right except that of the strongest.

Our age, alas, has provided some sad examples of fratricidal war, resulting with relentless logic from the weakening of the spirit of brotherhood.

Even the land which heard the hymn of the Angels announcing peace to men, which saw the Star of the Saviour shine forth, and where the Divine Redeemer died crucified for our salvation—even that Holy Land with all its memories and shrines most dear to every Christian heart, is now divided and has become the scene of blood and strife. And Europe herself, the center of the whole great Catholic family—is she not perchance today a warning and an example of the plight to which the loss of the spirit of brotherhood can reduce a part of the world once so beautiful and flourishing? The wounds she suffered during the late war are still unhealed, and already the sinister light of a new conflict flashes on the horizon.

Oh, if all honest men were to unite together, how quickly would the victory of the brotherhood of men be realized and along with it the rehabilitation of the world! Such people already constitute a substantial element of public opinion, and show that they possess really human instincts, with political wisdom as well.

But there are others just as numerous, whose mere word has considerable weight in hastening or impeding the peace of Europe—the necessary initial step toward world peace—who follow a course directly opposite. Are they afraid, perhaps, that if Europe were to recover, regain her strength and become conscious once more of her Christian mission, she would wish to rid herself of the deadly germ of atheism and revolution and live a life of her own, free from unhealthy foreign influence?

It is obvious that a Europe shivering and feverish from economic difficulties and social chaos yields more readily to the seductions and illusions of a fatuous ideal state than a healthy Europe with her vision clear.

Meanwhile, the propagators of such deceptive schemes spare no effort to make converts to their cause among the fanatics and the simple, whose aim, in turn, it will be to drag their people along the path of ruin that others have travelled before them, not from choice but because their civil and religious liberty had been systematically repressed.

Have We not had occasion to see here, on the sacred soil of the city

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where God has established the Chair of Peter, the emissaries of a concept of life and human society based on atheism and violence sowing cockle in the good earth of Rome, and doing their utmost to convince her sons that they have discovered and set up a new culture more worthy of man than the ancient and eternally youthful Christian civilization?

Since things have reached such a pass, the time has surely come for everyone who cherishes the human and spiritual heritage of his forefathers to rouse himself from sleep, take up the arms of faith and courage, and preserve the city, civilization's mother, from religious, moral and social deterioration such as might render very difficult, to Our keen regret, that solemn celebration of the coming Holy Year desired by Catholics the world over.

If, however, the frank words We utter during today's celebration know no boundaries, they refer only to doctrines denying faith in God and Christ, and certainly not to the nations or groups of nations who are the victims of these doctrines. For these latter the Church ever cherishes the same constant love. Nay, the more they suffer the greater is her love for them. It is in the days of trial, rather than in untroubled hours, that men of all nations should realize that they are brothers. The real meaning, the lofty mission and the power to reconcile of this brotherhood has never been, nor shall ever be extolled with such force as it was by "the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8, 29), Who from Bethlehem to Golgotha preached by His example more than by His words that great and universal brotherhood of men.

SPIRIT OF EVIL

Over this Christmas a dark cloud is gathering. As the people's anxious yearning for peace grows ever more intense, the inability of their leaders to satisfy it by merely human means is just as apparent. Do not the honest efforts of some to arrive at an equitable peace and the systematic planning of others to prevent its fulfillment bring perchance to mind the picture of a dangerous game of chance of which the stakes are fortune or ruin?

Into the meeting places of men the spirit of evil creeps unnoticed, "the angel of the abyss" (Apoc. 9, 11); the enemy of truth, the fomentor of hatred, the denier and destroyer of all sense of brotherhood, believing that his hour is nigh, uses everything at hand to hasten it. Nevertheless, We desire to end Our Christmas message with an irrepressible appeal for hope and confidence.

Although faith in the Divine Redeemer prompts Christians to ponder everything in the light of the truth—ever ancient, ever new—of aged Simeon's declaration concerning the Child Jesus at the presentation in the temple: "Behold this child is destined for the fall and for the rise of many . . . and for a sign that shall be contradicted" (Luke 2, 34), still We know that the number of those who do not separate themselves from Christ by unbelief, who cling to Him, who are ready to give their lives for Him and who place in Him and in the resurrection their unwavering hope—We know that the number of these is great, that it is increasing and growing strong. We see them radiating energy and influence for good in every sphere of life. We see that other men of good will are joining them.

To you all, therefore, beloved sons and daughters, We say: your hour is come.

At the assemblies of statesmen another unseen spirit presided as Sovereign Lord, the Omnipotent God to Whom nothing is secret and Who holds in His hands the thoughts and hearts of men, to bend them as He wills and when He chooses; God, all of Whose inscrutable designs are governed by His paternal love. But to fulfill these designs He wishes to make use of your cooperation. In the day of battle your place is in the vanguard, fighting at the front. The timid and those afraid to come out in the open are very close to becoming deserters and traitors. He is a deserter and a traitor who would give his material support, his services, his talents, aid or vote to parties and to forces which deny God, which put might in place of right, and threats and terror in place of liberty, which make of lying, opposition and incitement of the masses to revolt so many weapons of their policy, thus rendering national and international peace impossible.

Let us bring ourselves back 300 years, to a Europe torn by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The year 1648 brought at last the message of peace, the dawn of restoration.

Pray and work to obtain from God the grace that the year 1948 may be for wounded Europe and for the nations torn by discord, a year of rebirth and of peace. So pray and work that after the rout of the Spirit of darkness, the angel of the bottomless pit, the Sun of Justice may rise over the world: Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom honor and glory in time and in eternity.

And now, let Our Apostolic Blessing, a pledge of Divine grace and aid, go out to all Our beloved sons and daughters, those of this episcopal

city of Ours as of the whole world. But let it extend especially to those groaning under a heavier weight of distress and pain: the sick, the poor, the unemployed; the homeless and all who are hungry and cold; those bereft of freedom, family, country through the tragic happenings of a dreadful war, through other men's injustices or through their own past mistakes and faults and who feel the pang of discouragement and anguish all the more keenly at this holy season; to the prisoners of war not yet restored to their dear ones; to the refugees and the displaced; in a special way to those, particularly priests, suffering persecution, prison, exile, threats of torture and of death, simply because of their fidelity to God, to Christ, to the Church and to their duty.

Scripture and the Missal

The New Testament and the Missal are outstanding manifestations of Christian culture and cult. Inspired by God the Holy Ghost and composed by God's Saints, they are guarded and ministered by God's Church for the spiritual, mental and material benefit of God's people. Together with the Apostolic Tradition, they form the basis of the Rule of Faith, furnish the inspiration of the faithful and constitute the divinely appointed means by which faith is transformed into the spiritual activity of divine worship. The New Testament enshrines the inspired record of Christ's earthly life and mission: His incarnate activity as eternal Mediator between God and man. The Missal enshrines the Eucharistic Liturgy, inspired embodiment of the divine activity of Christ's Mystical Body, which is the sacrificial-sacramental extension of His Incarnation, His plentitude of grace, His vitalizing power. Through that Divine Liturgy, Christ's mediatorship is renewed. extended, perpetuated and applied. Through it, God continues always to "create, sanctify, fill with life, bless and bestow upon us all good things, through Christ, and with Christ, and in Christ,"-Theodore C. P. Vermilve in THE LAMP, September, 1947.

Wage-Profit-Price

PAUL WEBER

Reprinted from The WAGE EARNER*

WE are learning the hard way that it is not how much money you have in your pocket that counts, but how much your money will buy.

In more technical terms, the relationship between wages, prices, profits, production and other economic factors is what determines our national prosperity. The "wage-price-profit" equation must be kept continually in balance if purchasing power is to equal productive capacity and full employment to result.

The continuous process of adjusting the wage-price-profit relationship is something like the process of adjusting an automobile radiator with alcohol in changeable winter weather.

Anybody who has struggled with a balky radiator knows that it is the relationship between the alcohol, the water and the temperature that determines whether or not you are going anywhere.

The "alcohol-water-temperature" equation in the automobile radiator has to be kept in continuous adjustment or trouble results.

It stands to reason that somebody must be in charge of this adjustment if it is to be successful. Somebody must be in control not only of the various factors but of the relationship of these factors.

If the driver of the car insists upon unlimited use of alcohol, and the passenger in the back seat is a determined water advocate, and the gas station attendant has other ideas—then the radiator will surely boil or freeze.

Everybody understands very clearly that such an "equation" cannot be kept in balance in a car radiator by several people operating independently.

But in our economic life we persist in trying to keep the wage-priceprofit equation in balance with nobody in charge of the whole equation.

Wages are set by a process of conflict between organized labor and management. Prices are set by a few economic overlords who determine what the wage dollar will be worth. Profit margins are maintained by the unilateral decisions of the manager of industry.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we have no balance, that the wage-price-profit equation is continually out of kilter. The radiator of our economic machine is either boiling with inflation or frozen with depression.

We must establish some agency which will have charge over the whole wage-price-profit equation, and which will be able to adjust each of the factors in relation to the others.

Because such an agency would control our economic life, it must be a democratic agency, and it must give full voice to all the groups which take part in production.

This power to keep wages, prices and profits in balance is much too great a power to be entrusted to government. That would mean giving the state total power over the lives of the people.

The power cannot be entrusted to labor alone, or to management or capital alone, because these are special interests, which would inevitably throw the equation out of balance by taking too much for themselves.

We have had no experience with such domination of the wage-priceprofit relationship by labor, because labor has never been allowed to dominate on any large scale. But we have seen what happened when capital-management was given full control of the equation, before labor became powerful enough to win a voice in setting wages.

We have seen management habitually take so much of the fruits of production in profits, through high prices, that the people soon lacked the power to buy the goods they made. We have seen how this results in periodic depressions.

We have seen, too, that the effort of labor and management to control the equation by controlling individual factors results only in confusion.

Labor's effort to raise its purchasing power by raising its wages is countered by management's effort to maintain its profit margins by raising prices.

The result is that prices and wages drive each other upward and unsettle the whole economy.

We must create a new type of public agency, which is not the government, not labor and not capital-management, but is representative of all three. Such an agency, which we call an "industry council," could adjust the wage-price-profit relationship within each major industry.

Then we must create a national council of the same makeup, which will adjust the wage-price-profit equation for the whole economy.

Religion in Education

SISTER M. MADELEVA

An address at the Honors Convocation, St. Mary's College, Holy Cross, Indiana, May 30, 1947.

I WISH to speak to you briefly on the matters of religion in college education, religion in Catholic college education, and the college graduate in her relation to these.

Newman used to say that flagrant abuses correct themselves by being flagrant. Secularism and irreligion are abuses more actively flagrant and destructive to our one world today than war and its worse weapons. Indeed, they have produced these. Their relation to education is acute. Their correction is imperative. Their very flagrancy has demanded and precipitated measures for correction. Most significant of these is a report published by the American Council on Education last April (1947) under the title, The Relation of Religion to Public Education.

This report represents the work of a committee of thirteen, Protestants, Catholics and Jews, over a period of two years. In the field of public education it deserves such respect as an encyclical of our Holy Father on Christian education receives from the world to which it is addressed. A summary of it will be a part of my last word to the class of 1947.

The report begins with these statements:

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"That the present period is marked by an increased interest in religion perhaps goes without saying. . . . The intensified religious concern that is manifest today demands attention by educators."

Then follows a completely honest and dispassionate statement and appraisal of the secularization of modern life. I summarize by quoting:

Religion has largely lost its significance for many areas of human activity. Politics, business and industry, and the broad patterns of group behavior are no longer responsive to definite religious sanctions, however much the forms of religion continue to receive traditional respect. This is the expression of secularism in recent history, not a denial of religion, but the denial of its relevance to the major activities of life. . . .

However much it may suffer by comparison with the modern era, medieval Europe had a framework of spiritual unity which the modern world conspicuously lacks.

The concept of "economic man" and the contemporary slogan "business is business" are expressions of the changed outlook. Such notions would have been well-nigh meaningless to the men of the Middle Ages. They strikingly illustrate the secularist trend. ıt

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Religion was eliminated from all public schools about a hundred years ago. Horace Mann was largely responsible for its banishment. While personally favoring religious instruction, he could see no other way to obviate the chaos of conflicts among Protestant sects. The irreligious and antireligious education that have resulted are only part of the bitter, ironic sequel. Of the attempt to retrieve the situation the report says:

There is excellent reason to believe that nowhere is the concern over the exclusion of religion more deeply felt than within the educational profession. . . .

No person is fully educated who has not gained a knowledge of the faiths men live by. And unless the schools are content to leave one of the major areas of life unexplored, the specifically religious beliefs and aspirations of human beings must have attention. . . .

Religion is not only a faith to be believed but a life to be lived.

RESPONSIBILITY OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The basic responsibility of the public schools for such restoration is stated with great frankness:

We have sought up to this point to make clear the grounds of our conviction that the over-all situation with reference to religion and public education in America is not satisfactory and that the exclusion of religious subject matter which so largely prevails is neither required on grounds of public policy nor consistent with sound educational principles....

Due to the secularization of life and education, contacts with religious life and activity tend to become less frequent and a vast ignorance of religion prevails. If society is really concerned, as we believe it increasingly is today, that religion should have a more important place in the lives of its youth, a first step is to break through the wall of ignorance about religion and to increase the number of contacts with it. . . .

The first obligation of the school with reference to religion is, we believe, to facilitate intelligent contacts with it... The many attempts that have been made in various States to overcome the effect of secularization bear testimony to a popular demand that the schools shall not ignore the claims of religion upon human life.

It is a grave mistake to suppose that the public school, holding as it does in so large part the power to determine the scope of intelligent interest and concern on the part of youth, can be neutral in this matter. . . .

It is of the essence of our position that religion is inseparably bound up with a culture as a whole. Some religious groups, notably the Catholics, aim to achieve this synthesis in their parochial schools! They insist that the doctrines of religion be integrated with every subject in the school curriculum. To confine the teaching of religion to separate "religious courses" tends toward the very secularization we have argued against—the splitting-off of a religion from the rest of life.

Moving to the college level, the report finds little actually to impede and much to promote religious literacy and religious development on our secular campuses. A supposed conflict between science and religion might appear to constitute a difficulty. This careful appraisal of science is made:

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the objects with which science deals are real, and that all else is superstition inherited from a pre-scientific age. . . . The moral values or ends by which men guide their lives cannot be verified by the scientific method. . . Religion involves a concern for ultimate truth and a devotion to ultimate ends that man has no facilities for validating, in a factual or strictly empirical sense, either in the laboratory or elsewhere. This qualitative difference between religion and science is recognized by eminent scientists, as well as by philosophers. . . .

Action without past experience is blind, but action without moral imperatives is below the human level.

The responsibility of the college for the religious development of its students is very definitely established thus:

Because religion brings into close association both those concerned with the ultimate ends of life and those devoted to science, the institutions of higher education have a special mission to fulfill. Because they have responsibility for the young men and women who seek to become educated human beings, they have a special task to perform respecting the total culture. While there are encouraging features in many colleges and universities, it remains true that an indigenous and authentic concern on the part of the institution to overcome religious illiteracy, to rediscover the religious roots of culture, and to help students to develop a religious philosophy of life by which they may live, has not yet developed.

The great spiritual inheritance of our western culture is summarized in this statement:

Underneath the cleavage between

Catholic and Protestant, between Christian and Jew, is the stream of the Judaeo-Christian tradition with its conception of the common source and spiritual equality of all men as the children of God; the obligation to respect the supreme worth of persons and the wickedness of exploiting them; the golden quality of mercy; the meaning of redemptive love; the inexorableness of the law that he that soweth the wind shall reap the whirlwind. These are great cohesive spiritual forces to which the secular order of society probably owes more than it suspects.

This, then, is in briefest outline the evaluation of the relation of religion to public education as prepared by the Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education. Its pertinence to American life and interests can be judged by the fact that Time for April 21 devoted most of its section on education to a discussion of it. The report makes no attempt to solve the question of how religion can be restored to education. It leaves no doubt as to the error of having ejected it from our public schools. It asks for its return. One could wish that Catholic education would make so honest an appraisal of its position, its failures, its responsibilities. In an environment of secular schools, it almost inevitably takes on much of their program, their idiom, their immediate objectives and

Actually, the Catholic college realizes most completely the ideals of this report. It has no problem of re1-

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storing religion to the curriculum, of reconciling religion with science, of conciliating opposing sects within any doctrinal field. Religion is not only an essential subject; it is the integrating subject to which all other subjects are related as described by Newman a hundred years ago in his *Idea of a University*.

This ideal becomes more and more the practical form of life at Saint Mary's College. The department of religion is, by intention and fact, its strongest and pivotal department. Every student follows at least one course in doctrine, scripture, ethics or Church history every semester. These are supplemented and enriched by liturgy and Gregorian chant. It has been a major concern of the administration to procure and to prepare some of the best teachers on its faculty for these classes. The result is and should be that many students are more interested in their courses in religion than in any other subjects. Increasing numbers are choosing their majors or minors in this field. I wish that I could report as favorably of parents. Some of them have objected to their daughters taking so much religion, insisting on purely practical secular subjects instead.

REALISTIC AND IDEALISTIC

Just here I should like to become, for the moment, both realistic and idealistic. Suppose that no science of any kind had been taught in our Catholic schools on any level for a hundred years. How would their students fit into their world? Suppose that any other single subject, literature, history, philosophy, had been completely excluded for a century from our curricula. Generation upon generation of warped minds would have resulted. But that has happened in our public education. Religion has been excluded for a century and religious illiteracy is the result. In the Christian Century for the week of July 8, 1946, its editor, Dr. Charles C. Morrison, protests:

Secularism is an outlook on life limited to this world only.... It is the absolute opposite of Christianity....

America's rigidly nonreligious public school system is an ideal training ground for secularism. Unlike Catholicism, the Protestant churches . . . have given to the public school their consistent and unreserved devotion. The result is that their own children have been delivered back to their churches with a mentality that is not only unintelligent about religion but relatively incapacitated even to ask the questions out of which religion arises.

This is realism. Dr. Morrison "is one of United States Protestantism's doughtiest champions." Now to be idealistic. Suppose that you are to change a hypothetically temporary and imperfect residence for a permanent and a perfect one. Will you keep yourself in deliberate ignorance of it? Will you find out as little about it as possible and then under pressure; or will your major interest be this abid-

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ing city? Will not only your deliberate study but all your activities and interests be directed to it? The moral is obvious. Our educational programs are pointed sharply today to the world of the future, to a one world, to reconstruction for it, to leadership in it. The only future of which we are sure and about which we know anything surely is eternity.

The Catholic college educates its students for eternity. Four years are not too long a preparation. Religion is the most normal, the most sane of all majors for a student to choose. In fact, it is difficult for the intelligent and discerning student to discover any but secondary importances in other subjects. In proportion to her insight into eternal truth, her secular education takes on genuine significance and value and splendor and direction. She knows more and more what her secular education means as she shares more and more the wisdom and knowledge and understanding of God and enters into the realms of His Holy Spirit.

This conviction has passed into practice at Saint Mary's. The function and the scope of the liberal arts college are constantly being defined and redefined. Saint Mary's College sees its students as children of God. He has said that He has made them "a little less than the angels." He has said that we "are sons of God and it has not yet appeared what we shall be." In terms of these descriptions,

Saint Mary's understands its function and its scope. The education of a child of God differs from the education of a technician as such. A future filled with the world's best promises loses a little of its glamour to the girl who knows her state is to be "a little less than the angels."

Every school has its own distinction, its own excellence. These reflect its history, tradition, life, spirit. A hundred years ago Saint Mary's crowned its first graduates with appropriate honors. The earliest extant newspaper account of these commencement exercises concludes:

"The constant but unostentatious zeal of the Sisters of the Holy Cross has produced the most beneficial effects upon religion and the social life in this part of the country."

At this hundredth commencement substantially the same statement can be made. The college is still concerned with the development of religious education. Its strongest department, we repeat, is the department of religion. All other departments are correlated to it. In this correlation, they are not subordinated: they are sublimated; they are christianized: they are lifted to the feet of Christ. With public school administrators today demanding the restoration of religion to their curricula this program presents a pattern for their regard.

We have considered religion in college in public education, religion in a

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the Catholic college and at Saint Mary's. There remains a word to the Catholic college graduate.

One hundred years ago your first sister-alumnae sat in your places. They were happy as you are over academic honors and a shining future. We look back at them with perhaps a little superior amusement, surely with no absorbing regard. But how are they looking at us? What of all their golden commencement have they retained for our instruction? These: their knowledge of supernatural truth, their marks of the sacraments, and their experiences in grace, their acquaintance with God, the Blessed Trinity, the humanity of Christ, Mary His mother, the communion of saints. Their secular knowledge concerned itself with this world and so is unessential to eternity.

The reason for the pre-eminence

of religion in your education must be obvious. Your supernatural knowledge and experience it has protected, augmented, kept intact.

One hundred years from now your secular education will have long been obsolete; its methods and technic will have been forgotten; the shining mark of your Baptism will clothe you in glory; the splendor of your Confirmation will inundate you with the knowledge of God; your sacramental experience, your theological instruction will condition your beatitude forever. They will enable you to fulfill the essential purpose of your creation, God's accidental glory.

For that He has made you "a little less than the angels." Knowing that the least of the angels is unimaginably greater than our entire universe, this is no mean future for which Saint Mary's has prepared you.

What Is Truth?

Recently a survey was conducted to find out what fifty of Chicago's Congregational ministers believed in regard to Christian teachings. The following was the result:

Two did not believe that Christ lived. Twelve thought the Crucifixion a "noble example." Eight denied original sin. Thirty conceded there was a "tendency toward evil in human beings." Seven disbelieved the Resurrection. Twenty-five admitted Christ as a "necessary mediator between God and men." The Bible was authoritative in matters of faith to eight, was a "guide" to forty-two. Thirty-five decided the church was indispensable. Thirteen rated it "helpful."—North Carolina Catholic, Nov. 14, 1947.

Place of the Audience in Radio

ARTHUR H. HAYES

Address delivered before the Catholic Institute of the Press, New York City, by the Vice-President of the Columbia Broadcasting System, November 22, 1946

THE impressive fact about tonight's audience is that two common denominators pervade our group. First of all, we are Catholics, and it goes without saying that we must be Catholics with a purpose or we obviously wouldn't be banded together in a group such as this. It means that we want to stand guard so that the principles of our Divine Founder will play a guiding part in the work of our profession. The second denominator is that we have a common vocation. We are engaged, all of us, in the very important task, one way or another, of disseminating information, education, entertainment and culture, so doing, we play a most important part in influencing the tastes, the morals, the thinking and the habits of the nation.

These two common denominators naturally give us certain common interests regardless of whether we disseminate by means of a newspaper, a magazine, a radio station, or by the publication of books. But need I say to you that these not only give us certain interests, they impose upon us very definite and profound responsibilities.

In order to pursue this point as it

pertains to radio, let us first conside what makes broadcasting possible what guides its destiny, what dictate its policies. Is it station management Is it the Government through the Federal Communications Commission? Is it the group of advertisen by whom you and I both live? Is it the producers of radio shows? Is it the writers or actors? No. It's now of these. Broadcasting is made possible because of its audience. The audience is the general manager. It is the program director of all radio.

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Now let me remind you that you you as Catholics, you in your profesion, are part, and a very important part, of that audience. And let me ask: Do you seriously recognize your peculiar responsibility as part of this audience?

Let me illustrate a point about your responsibility with an incident. Some time ago, I was having a pleasant conversation in my home with a clergyman—a Catholic clergyman. He was an educator. In fact, he was the head of a Catholic institution of learning. As this very pleasant conversation proceeded, for some reason, which I cannot explain, it got around to radio. Said the educator to me: "Why do

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you have such-and-such a program on the air? I don't think it does our youth any good at all. I think it might do them harm, if anything."

I pointed out that the program wasn't on my station, but it would be interesting to discuss the point academically. When I asked him if every episode was as bad as the one he mentioned, he said he didn't know. He had only heard the one episode. I was seriously looking for information. I asked him if the Lux Radio Theatre. which brought the best plays with the finest artists right into the student's home without any cost, was of any help to students of dramatics, to students of English composition. would like to know what reactions he had had. He replied that he didn't know. He didn't know whether students listened or not. He said he had never heard it himself. Then I asked him if the school recommended to its students such a program as "Of Men and Books," on which John Mason Brown reviews and discusses a different book each week, and if so, what reaction did it get. How useful was the program? Unfortunately, he had never heard that program.

Well, I figured that undoubtedly he was interested in something even more classical, so I remembered a program about the *classics* called "Invitation to Learning," but unfortunately, he had never heard that. Well, would he think "Congress Speaks" made for an enlightened electorate? He hadn't heard that. Would they recommend for cultural advancement that the students listen to the New York Philharmonic Sunday afternoon? He didn't think they had since he had never heard the program. And so he went on. By this time, it became evident that I was desperate, so he explained that he never really listens to the radio. It's so much claptrap. Radio is just so much claptrap. That was his indictment,

INFLUENCE OF RADIO

Let me direct my remarks now to two failures to recognize responsibility. Here is radio, more characteristic of the American scene than anything else in existence. People spend more hours listening to the radio than they do anything else, save working or sleeping. Over ninety per cent of all homes have at least one radio. So except for a few eccentrics, or a few extremely poverty-stricken, radio is an influence in every home. True, it can be an influence for good or bad. We all saw during the last ten years in Europe what a tremendous force for good or for evil radio was. You are familiar with the details. It can lift up, or it can pull down. And yet important people, people who influence others, people who educate, people who are parents, people who should be championing the cause of Godliness, don't know what it is doing. Would an educator or a parent

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take this attitude toward literature?

I am sure that the same educator would recognize that many books are pure sophistry, many are degrading, whereas other books are entertaining. or uplifting, or educational. And so undoubtedly the faculty of that institution of learning counsels their youth against the reading of certain books, and strongly recommends the reading of others. But I am sure they have not pointed out the advantages of symphonic music on the air, at the same time they were, perhaps, criticizing jazz music. Now I say to you that, while everyone has a responsibility to his brother, and more especially to young people in the formative stages of life, we who are Catholics, we who have chosen as our vocation the dissemination of information, of education and entertainment, and of culture, by whatever means, we who can so strongly influence public opinion, public habits and public tastes, have a responsibility not just to criticize the broadcaster. We have a responsibility to know what broadcasting is doing. As I said a few moments ago, the audience guides the destinies of broadcasting. Every broadcaster, every advertiser, every writer, every producer, is striving to please the most people. How much encouragement have we given him?

Let me take a case in point. The National Broadcasting Company for many years has set aside every Sunday evening, from 6:00 to 6:30, for the Catholic Hour, a very valuable piece of time-one which they could have sold many times over. broadcaster did his part, and the producers, the National Council of Catholic Men, did their part very well. They brought the finest music and the finest speakers on the most interesting topics, but what did the real program director, the audience, decide? Let me refer you to the ratings of the September-October Hooper Report. Most of you are familiar with the Hooper Report. A rating of 1 means that one family out of every hundred in the area where the program could be heard listened to it. A rating of ten means that every ten families out of a hundred listened to it. Now I am going to take New York City only, since it is an area with which we are all familiar. The rating of the Catholic Hour was 1.8—less than 2 per cent of the families in the area listened to the program. Just for the sake of comparison, would you like to know that that same evening, Walter Winchell, on another station, got 19.8-just a hair under 20 per cent?

Now I ask you, is the audience directing the broadcaster away from clap-trap, so called, to finer things? Or does the audience say: put on finer things and you won't get any listeners. You can then go out of business. And are we recognizing our responsibility in this direction?

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pletely lost. Even if Msgr. Fulton Sheen, on a nation-wide network, gets a rating of only 1, he would be talking to an audience of over a million people. He is doing a tremendous job, but think of what he might do if the audience so chose. You who criticise mystery shows, don't forget who programmed them. Mind you, I am not saying that mysteries are not good, but I do say that they receive a great deal more listening than "Congress Speaks," "Of Men and Books," "Invitation to Learning," the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, "The American School of the Air," and the like. I know you may say to me, as many people will, what a pity that the American taste isn't higher. And I say, we as influential members of the audience, what are we doing to raise American tastes, so that American people will damor for the best, the finest and the cleanest. The broadcasters have done a great deal to raise public tastes. Ten years ago, the symphony orchestras were strictly sustaining. Today, four of the leading symphonies are commercially sponsored that means people are listening to them in sufficient quantities to attract sponsors. Over a period of years, people have grown because of radio to have a better idea of lovelier things.

Now let me point out the failure of a second responsibility of this educator. He listens to no radio, he recommends no radio. However, he does go to the trouble of damning all radio and characterizing it as "claptrap." Is that fair? But what is even more important, is it constructive to make such a sweeping indictment and there to rest on your oars? Now I'll grant you that people should be critical. Radio should be criticised and many times it deserves criticism, but before criticising, we should be sufficiently well-informed that we don't make unconstructive, sweeping, damning indictments.

PROGRAM CONTENT

First of all, let us recognize a general principle that all radio must not necessarily be cultural, must not necessarily be educational, must not necessarily be inspirational. What do you think would happen if a high school library had on one shelf, Pliny's Letters, Horace's Odes and Epodes, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. Plato's Republic, and so forth. On another shelf it had the works of Shakespeare, and directly beneath that, in twenty neat volumes, the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aguinas. And below that, the Life of Mother Cabrini, the Church's Debt to the Irish, The Imitation of Christ, the History of the Church, and other very notable works. If this were our library, the students would not use it often enough to keep cobwebs from growing across the doorway. But if there were other shelves with good adventure stories, football stories,

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mystery stories and romantic novels, the students would be attracted to the library, and we would find that before long they would be taking books from some of the other shelves.

Now let me carry this into radio. Suppose radio were composed only of classical discussions, symphony orchestras, religious services, and so forth. How long do you think there would be a radio audience, and in what repair do you think people would keep their sets? Would there be an audience when the President of the United States wished to muster the whole country for national defense? Would people be accustomed to listening enough so that they could listen to Msgr. Sheen, the fine symphony orchestras, the educational and cultural programs.

It is possible to find out a great deal about radio, its audience, their tastes, and so forth. The radio industry itself has done a great deal along these lines. I think one of the most interesting things was a very comprehensive survey made by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver. The findings of this study were analyzed and interpreted by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University under the direction of Dr. Paul S. Lazarsfeld. This analysis has been put into book form by this Columbia University Bureau, and was published under the title of The People Look at Radio by the University of North Carolina Press. In fact, I understand it is now available in chart presentation form, and I feel sure if you were to have it brought before this group, it could afford you an interesting evening. This study covered a complete cross-section of American adults by geographical groups, broken down according to sex, age and education.

I should like to quote a few face from this study. However, I would like to make clear that I do not consider this a sales meeting, and I am not here to precipitate controversies. And so, where this study makes comparisons with other media or other institutions to illustrate certain points, I quote them direct from the finding without regard to which of us they favor or do not favor. I am sure you would want it that way.

EVALUATING THE RECORD

One of the ways devised to try and evaluate the record of radio with the public was to compare radio with other media of entertainment and information. Before asking such questions, it was, of course, necessary to find out something about the experience of the people questioned. So basic habits were first determined. It was found that 91 per cent of the families in the nation had radio sets in working order, 36 per cent had more than one set, and 24 per cent had a car radio: 48 per cent of the public read a daily newspaper, 35

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per cent a weekly newspaper, and 53 per cent read some magazine regularly.

One of the first objectives was to try to determine the public's estimate of performance of radio during the war. So this question was asked: "Taking everything into consideration, which one of these do you think did the best job of serving the public during the war: magazines, newspapers, moving pictures, or radio?" Sixty-seven per cent named radio as doing the best job during the war, 17 per cent newspapers, 4 per cent movies, 3 per cent magazines. Nine per cent expressed no opinion.

Another way to evaluate the standing of radio was to inquire into the public's feeling about the fairness of radio on controversial questions, so the study asked: "Do you think radio is fair in giving a broad point of view in an argument? Do you think newspapers are? Magazines are?" Eightyone per cent said that radio was fair. Only 8 per cent thought unfair. Forty-five per cent said magazines were fair. Thirty-nine per cent said newspapers were fair.

But just what actual value do people put on their radio listening? To determine this, the study asked the question, "If you had to give up either radio or newspapers, which would you choose?" Sixty-two per cent said they would give up newspapers first, 30 per cent said they would give up radio, and 8 per cent didn't know.

As a second check, the question was asked: "If you had to give up going to the movies or listening to the radio, which would you choose?" Eighty-four per cent said they would give up going to the movies; only 11 per cent said they would give up radio.

However, the researchers didn't want to consider radio only as a competitor for the public's favor, or dollars. They wanted to study radio as a public institution as well. And as a public institution, just how good a job is radio doing? It was decided to compare radio with other social institutions in the community. This question was asked: "In every community the schools, the newspapers, the local government, each has a different job to do. Do you think that the schools are doing an excellent good, fair or poor job? How about the newspapers, the radio stations, the local government, the churches? After all, these institutions are found in every community and all are important to a community. The finding showed that 82 per cent of the public rated the job radio is doing as excellent or good. Even the churches do not do as well-only 76 per cent rate the job they are doing as excellent or good. Sixtyeight per cent said newspapers were doing an excellent or good job. The schools got 62 per cent, and local government was found at the bottom of the scale with 45 per cent. Only

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one per cent of the people said that radio was doing a poor job and only 10 per cent said a fair job.

The National Opinion Research Center, however, didn't feel that these over-all estimates of radio in terms of performance in the community, and in terms of its standing with other media were sufficient, so they directed their attempt more specifically to the programs being dispensed by radio and asked a number of questions delving into people's satisfaction with radio programming.

The first three questions they asked were: "Are there any kinds of radio programs that aren't on when you like to hear them?" "Are there any kinds of radio programs that you would like to hear more of?" "Are there any kinds of radio programs you would like to hear fewer of?"

The answer to the first was very gratifying. Eighty-one per cent say they are able to find the kind of radio program they want to hear on one station or another; 19 per cent said they were not able to find certain radio programs when they wanted to hear them; and despite the fact that such questions were leading with the chin, only 59 per cent said that there were kinds of programs that they would like to hear more of, and only 55 per cent said that there were kinds of programs they would like to hear fewer of.

Some specific questions were asked about preferences for certain program types. I won't bore you with all the

details and I know you won't remember all the figures, but a few of them may serve to give you an over-all picture. News broadcasts, both day and night, were by far the tops in listening preference-76 per cent at night and 71 per cent during the day. Radio plays, comedy programs and quiz programs all rated the same 54 per cent at night, although they were much lower during the daytime. You will be amazed to know that old familiar music at night came next with 47 per cent, whereas pop music was only 42 per cent, and classical music 32 per cent.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

I should like to make a couple of observations on this survey that should interest you. Religious programs, in the day time, were liked by 35 per cent of those in the low cultural level, 21 per cent in the average cultural level, and by only 17 per cent in the high cultural level. Classical music in the day time rated highest in the average cultural level at 23 per cent, whereas it drops to 21 per cent in the high and 14 per cent in the low.

The evening program likes and preferences show that there is work for us to do. Classical music is preferred by 53 per cent in the high cultural level, only 22 per cent in the low cultural level. Discussions rate 56 per cent in the high cultural level, only 33 per cent in the low.

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radio? This question was asked:
"Aside from news, in what other
fields does radio add to your information and knowledge?" And look at
these results. Political, 22 per cent;
news, 16 per cent; home making,
16 per cent; quiz information, 15
per cent; agricultural, 15 per cent;
religious, 5 per cent. People do seem
to be getting some help through their
loud speakers.

I have quoted these figures, which are only a fraction of one study that has been made on the subject of radio, to give you some small idea of how much information is available, and it is only with some knowledge of this great medium that we can constructively criticize and really aid in making possible the good that it can do.

From the few figures you have heard, I think you will agree that you

cannot safely make sweeping assumptions that radio is clap-trap—radio is not doing a good job.

In conclusion, let us come back to where we started. Let us recognize that radio is a tremendous power for good or evil, as we make it. Let us recognize our responsibilities. Let us remember that the radio audience is the program director and decides whether we shall hear good or bad radio fare. Let us realize that in our positions we have a responsibility as members of that audience, and influential members, to see that that audience does a good programming job. I ask you to remember your second responsibility, that since this medium is so powerful, you don't make snap judgments and sweeping claims or denunciations of the entire medium without knowing more facts. That will not be constructive.

Purpose of Education

Every Catholic educator is vividly conscious of the truth that, when all is said, the chief function of education is to make us men and women like Christ. It is as simple as that. To be Christlike in this life that we may live eternally with Him, is the purpose of our existence and of all that we do.

—Rev. W. H. McCabe, S.J., from Baccalaureate Address, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ind., May 30, 1947.

Goals for American Labor

The 1947 Labor Day statement of the Social Action Department, NCWC.

THE Church in the United States has always had implicit confidence in the essential aims and aspirations of the American labor movement. Such confidence was eloquently expressed as far back as 1887 by James Cardinal Gibbons, the then Archbishop of Baltimore. In defending the Knights of Labor, the immediate forerunner of our present-day organizations of workingmen, His Eminence, in his own name and in the name of his colleagues in the American Hierarchy, was at pains to emphasize the importance of the labor movement and the justice of its basic demands. Said his Eminence:

Whoever meditates upon the ways in which Divine Providence is guiding mankind in our days, cannot fail to remark how important is the part which the power of the people takes in shaping the events of the present, and which it is evidently destined to take in molding the destinies of the future. . . . In our country, above all, this social amelioration is the inevitable program of the future, and the position which the Church should hold towards it is surely obvious. She can certainly not favor the extremes to which the poor multitudes are naturally inclined, but, I repeat, she must withhold them from these extremes by the bonds of affection, by the maternal blessing which she will bestow upon every legitimate means for improving the condition of the people.

It was only a few years after Cardinal Gibbons had issued his famous defence of the Knights of Labor that Labor Day was established officially as a national American holiday. Since that time the Cardinal's confidence in the basic integrity of what has come to be one of the greatest labor movements in the world has been amply vindicated. Typical of the spirit which has guided the movement from its very beginnings is an official declaration of the American Federation of Labor in 1923 on the subject of Labor Day:

The labor movement fixes as its goal nothing less than the complete richness of life, without limitation of any kind, the attainment of the complete human ideal, in all of its economic, ethical and spiritual implications. Through the inspiration of our labor movement, the Sunday preceding Labor Day has come into general national observance as Labor Sunday. On this day it is fitting to give thought to the aspirations of Labor and to find in what way the soul of Labor may give thought and expression to its longings. Because of its aims and aspirations here set forth, we hold it fitting that all churches draw close to their altars the soul of labor on the coming Labor Sunday and that the men and women of labor everywhere make special efforts to cooperate with the Churches and to secure the cooperation of the churches with them in order that there may be in the churches Car-

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everywhere on that day a great unison of expression in behalf of a higher, nobler life for the masses of our people.

LABOR IS STILL FAITHFUL

Happily, the American labor movement is still committed to these lofty and noble sentiments. Many thousands of American unionists, whatever their religious affiliation, will give thanks to God this year as before on Labor's national holiday for the blessings of the past and will ask His guidance for the future. There are exceptions, of course, which prove the rule, but the great majority in the ranks of organized labor will be found to subscribe to the recent warning of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII:

Neither collective bargaining nor arbitration nor all the directives of the most progressive legislation will be able to provide a lasting labor peace unless there is also a constant effort to infuse the breath of spiritual and moral life into the very framework of industrial relations.

The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, therefore, congratulates the American labor movement on this its national holiday, the while it invites the movement to join today with all other individuals and economic organizations in asking the assistance of the Holy Spirit for the solution of the critical economic and social problems with which our country is now confronted in the months ahead.

I. CONTINUOUS PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT

A year ago today in its Labor Day Statement of 1946, the Social Action Department of the NCWC pleaded for the establishment of a system of Industry Councils through which labor and management with the assistance of the government could jointly and democratically work out all of the major problems of economic life: wages, hours, prices, profits, production schedules, etc. Organized labor was encouraged "to extend its activities beyond the traditional limits of collective bargaining over wages, hours and working conditions into the field of labor-management cooperation and eventually into an organized system of industry councils."

During the intervening twelve months the need for such a system of industry councils has become increasingly urgent as a means of promoting economic stability and full employment, but unfortunately little or nothing has been done to bring it into being. The recent session of Congress devoted much time to a labor bill but ended its efforts by enacting legislation which contained little help of a constructive nature for promoting effectively steady production and full employment.

The chief objective of both labor and management in their mutual relations ought to be the elimination of economic conflict and the maintenance of continuous production. The cause of strife and disruption in industry may be traced to disputes over wages, or to grievances in relation to working conditions, or it may be due to the lack of security in employment. Collective bargaining between management and labor does solve many of these problems but only after they become acute, whereas it is even more desirable that they be anticipated and forestalled.

When collective bargaining breaks down, strikes may be unavoidable, but they constitute nevertheless a species of warfare. They are a social evil. They are an infallible sign that the wage system and present organization of industry are in need of a more fundamental adjustment than can be provided by mere collective bargaining.

A better system of dividing the profits of industry than the current one can and should be devised. Capital and labor are presumed to be partners in the system, but the system needs to be modified so that the declared partnership can be fully realized in terms of greater mutual benefit. The vicious circle of increased wages, followed by increased costs and subsequently increased prices. leads merely to instability of our economy and hence benefits no one. Only when the production of goods increases or at least is steadily maintained can both the owners and the workers as well as the public secure genuine benefits. We recognize that both in the ranks of owners as well as in the ranks of labor certain existing inequities in rate of income may be in need of adjustment, but when once the adjustment is made the only sure way to improve the standard of living for all is to increase the productivity per man-hour of work. We congratulate the leaders of labor, therefore, on their recent pronouncement emphasizing this fact.

It would be not only more consistent with social justice, but also economically wiser in the long run, to reduce extravagant profits by a decrease in prices. The present shortage of goods and demands for labor may be exploited contrary to the interests of the public, but it is the part of wisdom not to curtail the market or effective demand for goods and thus run the risk of precipitating unemployment and a depression.

To achieve a higher standard of living for all requires efficiency and steady employment on the part of workers, increased capital through savings and reinvestment on the part of owners, and improved technology through research on the part of management. It is important, however, to remember that no one class can improve its economic status in the long run at the ultimate expense of another class. What is needed therefore is a socially just and reasonably automatic system to distribute the increased productivity of industry as it

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develops. It should take place neither before nor after the increased production but concurrently. To develop such a formula should not be too difficult. In fact such automatic and concurrent distribution of benefits is already in existence in a few industries.

GENERAL ECONOMIC WELFARE

Now such a modified wage system on a nation-wide scale presupposes the existence of an organized council of industry, business and agriculture. Each should function within its own sphere, but all should cooperate with one another on the local, regional and national levels with governmental supervision to insure equity for all. The President of the United States, following the suggestions of the Council of Economic Advisors, has attempted to arouse us from our lethargy and has reminded us pointedly of our common responsibilities for the general economic welfare. "The unprecedented prosperity of our nation," he warns us, "must not be a cause of idle self-congratulation. We must remember that full employment at a high price level is being sustained at present by the reconversion demands of business and the backlog demands of consumers, by extensive use of savings and credit, and by an extraordinary excess of exports over imports. These are temporary props to our economic system. As they weaken, we shall need to make many basic readjustments to complete the transition to a permanently stable and maximum-level peacetime economy."

"No individual," he continues, "no organization, and no branch of government can be absolved of responsibility for its part in this process. Each of these price, wage or other income adjustments helps to determine the general levels of production and employment in the period just ahead. And since it takes time for the results of these decisions to become apparent, we must be farsighted as well as broad-visioned in the decisions we make."

The President's warning is wise and timely. We hope the President will take the next logical step by proposing a practical program by which we may carry out jointly the heavy responsibilities to which he refers, responsibilities which we cannot carry out effectively as individuals or as individual groups acting alone. In this connection, then, we adopt as our own the suggestion which was offered in the separate Catholic introduction to the inter-faith economic statement of 1946, "Pattern for Economic Justice":

The government can make its greatest contribution to the general welfare by actively encouraging the bona fide organizations of labor, business, agriculture and the professions to set up a system of economic councils for industry-wide and national economic planning. We urge the government to call the leaders of these organizations together immediately and

to assist them in establishing a workable system of industry councils.

It is to be hoped that the entire labor movement will dedicate itself today to a concerted effort to popularize the industry-council program and to convince American management of its advantages. The price of our continued failure to establish such a system of economic democracy in the United States is likely to be another serious depression to be followed almost inevitably by a type and by a degree of government intervention which will be equally distasteful to labor and management alike. Meanwhile organized labor and organized management, in the absence of an industry-council system, will continue to confront one another in the arena of the market as belligerent contestants in a disastrous struggle for economic power and for group advantage instead of cooperation in mutual harmony for the common good. This will not promote "free enterprise" as we understand it but will open the road to compulsory arbitration and to other more restrictive encroachments of the government in the field of economics.

II. LABOR LEGISLATION

More mature consideration as well as recent experience have brought out expressions of dissatisfaction with the Taft-Hartley Act. We have declared our own judgment that the Act is awkward and unworkable in many respects and is an inadequate and shortsighted approach to the very complicated problem of industrial relations. Some of its provisions will no doubt be amended, and others, if unamended, will be challenged as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, the Act is presently the law of the land, and as such it requires labor and management alike to work as they have never worked before for the voluntary settlement of industrial problems across the bargaining table. To the extent that they fail to compose their differences peacefully and equitably the law will be enforced to the limit of its authority and to the disruption of the peaceful processes of collective bargaining. We urge most earnestly that both labor and management meet one another in a cordial and sincere effort to forestall the consequences of the enforcement of the unsatisfactory features of the law. We also feel confident that labor will voluntarily correct those specific abuses which the Act, in the first instance, was presumably designed to eliminate.

Thus far the emphasis in this Labor Day statement has been placed on voluntary action by individuals and free associations of workers and employers. Therein lies the hope and strength of democracy. Nevertheless, to the extent that organized labor and organized management are presently unable or unwilling to assume their joint responsibilities, government is obliged to take whatever steps are

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necessary to advance the common good. There are some needs so urgent that in the interest of the moral and economic welfare of all the people, Congress should assume responsibility for them and act without unnecessary delay:

1. A Housing Bill should be enacted, which, while respecting the rights of private enterprise, will provide decent accommodations for low-income families.

 Social security should be extended by legislation so as to provide wider coverage and greater benefits both as a stimulus to full production and employment and in fairness to the beneficiaries.

3. The Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to provide greater coverage and to increase the statutory minimum wage from 40c to at least 65c per hour.

4. Tax legislation should be made less complicated and, while providing fair incentives to business initiative and enterprise, should give more equitable treatment to low-income families with dependent children.

In conclusion, as we again congratulate the American labor movement on the occasion of its national holiday and as we encourage it to organize as rapidly as possible the great number of American workers who are still without status or representation in their economic life, we emphasize the supreme importance of the high moral and spiritual ideals which must actuate the movement if it is to promote the common good. We join wholeheartedly with His Holiness Pope Pius XII in extending to the working people of the United States and to the working people of the world the following message:

"In your workshops and factories, under the sun in the field, in the darkness of the mines, amid the heat of the furnace, wherever the word of Him Who commands may call, may there descend upon you the abundance of His favors which may afford you help, safety and solace and make meritorious of eternal happiness all the hard work in which here below you spend and sacrifice your life."

The Christian Family

"The Christian home must be preserved—that rock on which is raised the fear of God, unbroken fidelity, temperance, love and peace. To save the Christian family is, precisely, the chief task of the Catholic man."—Pope Pius XII to members of Italian Catholic Action, Sept. 7, 1947.

THE EDITORIAL MIND

Catholic Education Could Lead

R UNNING like a leitmotive through a good deal of the current debate on private and public schools is the assumption or innuendo that the public school system is the "American" system, and that private schools exist—quite legitimately, to be sure—outside this system. As a consequence of this voluntary segregation of themselves, the private schools cannot claim the benefits of the full "American" system.

Such an assumption is, of course, plain nonsense. There is only one American school system—the system implicit in our Constitution and explicit in the Oregon School decision of 1925, under which parents have a right to educate their children in any school of their choice that meets the normal educational requirements of the state. We have heard of other systems in which the parents were forbidden to send their children to any but the state schools or, if permitted to send them to private schools, had to suffer the loss of certain privileges reserved to the state schools. Two years ago we liquidated one such system in Germany; another still flourishes in Russia. 19

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The present debate, however, offers the Catholic schools of the country a great opportunity not only of proving their true American character, but also of striking a shrewd blow for Christian justice and charity and of effecting a radical improvement in the American school system.

Let the Catholic schools of the country announce it as a fixed public policy that Catholic education will no longer be bedevilled by the practice of segregation; that they will accept their pupils, as all schools should, on the basis of educational fitness: that they reject the idea that any pupil, by reason of color or national origin, should be set apart or deprived of equal educational opportunity. Let them publicly recognize the educational value of the association on an equal basis of members of all the groups in the national community. Let them proclaim that, at a time when the nation's unity is so strained by tensions based on ignorance and prejudice, the Catholic schools are committing themselves to the practical education in mutual understanding that comes from the equal and r

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friendly contact of the various groups. All of this is not merely good pedagogy; it is good Christianity as well. And it is American in the best sense.

Segregation for racial reasons cannot be defended on any Christian principle. At the most it can be afforded a grudging toleration to prevent greater evils. But even then, the Catholic voice should be clearly and firmly raised, as our Holy Father Pius XII recently urged, in a fearless "non licet." The Pope does not want fear, much less prejudice, masquerading as prudence. It is not the first time that Catholic teachers have had to say: "We must obey God rather then men."—INTERRACIAL REVIEW, New York, N. Y., June, 1947.

\$\$\$ Morality

IT WILL take the workers thirteen years to regain the wages they lost in this strike. There's no sense to such a strike."

This line of reasoning is fast becoming a favorite argument against strikes. The argument implies that the goodness or badness of a strike is to be judged by the financial gains or losses. What's the use of striking, it is said, if the pay losses cost more than wage increases? Thus morality becomes, for all practical purposes, a matter of dollars and cents.

Boiled down to its real meaning, this argument against strikes is positively immoral. For it substitutes a dollar-sign type of morality for real moral principles.

In many strikes there are moral issues at stake—the worker's right to organize; the recognition of the worker's dignity as a child of God. For the sake of justice workers have frequently been willing to lose money rather than jilt a principle. If men are willing to die for their country, why shouldn't workers be willing to suffer financial hardships for the welfare of their fellow workers? And furthermore, why shouldn't these workers be given the same honors accorded national heroes?

A man's soul, a man's honor before God, are worth more than all the world's riches. It is our denial of this truth that tangles up labor relations. Our refusal to put spiritual things first works injustice and creates disorder in our economic system.

The conditions for a just strike are as follows:

- 1. There must be a just reason for striking.
- 2. The strikers must have reasonable hope of success.
- 3. The strike must be the last resort.
- 4. The good that results must outweigh the evil consequences. (Money matters are certainly involved in this last condition, but are only one of several considerations.)

These conditions recognize that a double standard of morality is wrong. A man's private life and his public life should be governed by the same set of principles, by the same moral law, by the same charity of Christ.—WORK, Chicago, Ill., August, 1947.

Not Union of Church and State

IT IS a matter of profound regret that some large and important American newspapers report incidents and quote distinguished persons in a way to inflict positive and serious damages upon vast numbers of our citizens.

More specifically, reference is here made to the recent address of our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, before the Sacred Roman Rota on October 29, 1947. Certain newspapers of the type above indicated, in writing their account or in quoting words of the Holy Father, conveyed an entirely wrong impression. For instance, in writing heads for such articles, they intimated that the Pope was insisting on the union of Church and State.

The fact is that a careful reading of the address of Pope Pius XII does not furnish one iota of excuse for such an interpretation. The Holy Father restated, insisted upon, the doctrine long ago enunciated by Leo XIII on November 1, 1885 in which "he clearly outlined the boundaries of both orders (Church and State) according to their different aims. He pointed out that it belongs to the

State to take care, first and above all, of earthly interest, and of the Church to procure heavenly and eternal goods for men, insofar as they need security and support from the State for earthly things and from the Church for eternal goods." Again, "this difference between the functions of the Church and State does not preclude any and every form of united effort between the two orders, much less does it determine a cold and forbidding atmosphere of agnosticism and indifference between the two."

In other words, separation of Church and State does not imply antagonism between the two, nor does it forbid cooperation, when that is just, feasible and beneficial. Countless such examples of cooperation between our government and various churches in the United States are available to any one who examines the subject in an unbiased manner.

All the wild and foolish statements which have been made recently by certain religious leaders, in regard to forbidding children to ride on school buses and denying them other public services to which all children are entitled, are reducible to this basic error, i. e., the supposition that justifiable cooperation between them constitutes "union" of Church and State.

Ordinarily it would be very simple for the average American to understand this line of reasoning; unfortunately, however, when bigotry or prejudice enter into the question, y

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men are strangely blind and inconsistent.—The CATHOLIC SENTINEL, Portland, Ore., Nov. 13, 1947.

Nikola Petkov

EVEN in a world which is shrinking daily, Bulgaria is a long distance from us geographically—and even further politically. Therefore we might be excused for feeling that the hanging of the Bulgarian agrarian leader, Nikola Petkov, was too far removed from the concern of American workers to warrant any comment.

But doesn't it really concern us, as Americans and as workers? We sincerely believe so. Petkov was convicted of being a "traitor." Actually all the facts indicate that he was really a Bulgarian patriot who fought Fascism vigorously when it controlled his country. When the Communists seized power in the unsettled days following the war's end. Petkov fought them with such fervor that he become a thorn in the side of the government. His liquidation was plotted; a trumped-up trial and conviction quickly followed. Despite the strong protests of our government and other world powers, Petkov was executed last Tuesday, September 23.

Now no matter how often they may deny it, the Communist Party of the U. S. is a blood brother of the Bulgarian Communist Party and works for the same ultimate objective, i.e., the world-wide triumph of Stalinism and the complete elimination of the democratic form of government. In Bulgaria the Communist Party controls the government; in America it does not, but is nevertheless working frantically to hold and enlarge its foothold in our political, social and economic life. The actions of the Party in Bulgaria and America therefore differ radically at the moment, but the gap would materially lessen if the Party ever succeeded in gaining a commanding position in American life.

The Petkov murder is an object lesson for us and for all the world to see. It should warn us to beware of helping in the slightest the Communist drive for power, particularly in the trade-union movement. It also proves the necessity for active, intelligent and consistent opposition to its spread.

There are no American versions of the Petkov incident under our form of government—the opposition is allowed to be heard and to exist. CP sympathizers and well-wishers might well reflect upon that thought—it might bring them to their senses before it is too late. —The Labor Leader, New York, N. Y., Sept. 30, 1947.

Fatima and World Peace

Reprinted from The CATHOLIC MIRROR*

In times of depression and confusion it is the "little people" of the world who suffer most, and yet there seemingly is so little they can do. Small wonder, then, that the promise of Our Lady of Fatima to convert Russia and bring peace if her requests are answered has aroused new hope in the hearts tormented by the fearsome happenings of this 20th century.

Here is the moral equivalent of the atom bomb-a program of world reform, far reaching and certainly productive of results. At Fatima we are reminded once more of the delicate balance between the demands of self and those of society. Over-emphasis on self has crippled the social order. It is now the objective of all programs of human endeavor to reestablish social well-being by tipping the scales to the side of the social order. Fatima sounds a call to generous Christian living and points to the Sacraments, prayer and penance as the source of the true Christian spirit.

Before outlining the requests of Our Lady, let us review briefly the extraordinary events that began at Cova da Iria, near the village of Fatima, Portugal, on May 13, 1917. Three shepherd children, Francisco, Jacinta, and Lucy watching their sheep were frightened by a flash of light. Thinking a storm was approaching, they excitedly began rounding up the sheep, to drive them home. SU

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As they herded their flock down into the Cova, a hollow, basin-like spot in the field where they were pastured, they were startled by another flash of light. They had reached the very center and bottom of the hollow when they stopped, frozen in their tracks. Shining from the right was a light "brighter than the sun." Standing in this light, above a little holm tree, so radiant that they could hardly look at her, they saw a beautiful Lady, who later identified herself as the Blessed Virgin, "the Lady of the Rosary."

Reassuring the startled (and incredulous) minds of the children, calming their fears and answering sweetly their wise little questions as to who she was and whence she had come and why, and what she desired of them, etc., she told them that she had come from Heaven, and asked them very humbly if they would return to the same spot on the 13th day of each following month until and including October, when she would identify herself unmistakably.

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The children returned to the Cova as requested on the 13th day of each succeeding month, and on every occasion the Lady kept her appointment with them—August alone excepted, because the anti-religious civil authorities of Portugal had thrown the children into prison as impostors and disturbers of some kind or other and timed their act to prevent them from going to the Cova on the 13th, as usual.

On August 19, she defeated these evil designs by appearing to the children unexpectedly at another spot nearby, to which they were wont to take their flocks for change of pasture.

Always the Lady appeared at noon, following a mysterious flash of lightning and in a cloud of brilliant, unearthly light; always she rested over the little holm tree where they had first seen her.

THE ROSARY

At Fatima, as at Lourdes, the children and those who gathered at the Cova with them said the Rosary while awaiting the Lady's appearance, and the Lady carried a beautiful rosary on her arm.

In each apparition she left with the children a special revelation and an accompanying message, and renewed the warnings and requests of previous ones, pleading for penance, sacrifice, prayer, fidelity to daily duties, the end of sinning, the return to God; she told them that God wished to have established in the world the reign of devotion to her Immaculate Heart as a remedy for the blasphemies and other evils so wickedly increasing and spreading in alarming manner over the earth; and as a preventative of the terrible retributions which these evils, if not repented of and atoned for, would bring upon the world. She pleaded for a return of the world to the practice of the Rosary, properly prayed.

In the third apparition, she revealed that the war then raging, World War I, would soon end, and peace would return, and added: "But if my requests are not heard, then precisely in the next Pontificate (which was that of Pius XI), there will be another, more terrible war, during which whole nations will be wiped out. The Holy Father will suffer much. If my requests are heard, and the world is consecrated to my Immaculate Heart, Russia will be converted and the world will have peace. If my requests are not heard, the evil doctrines of atheistic Russia will spread over the whole world."

Only the three children saw the Lady and heard her, in the apparitions. Spectators saw the flash of light which preceded her coming each time, and the "ball of fire" in which she seemed to come from heaven; some discerned the bright mist which enshrouded her over the holm tree, and those near enough heard the children converse with her and saw the

surprising changes in them. But in her apparitions during the summer, Our Lady promised that in her October visitation she would verify "by a great miracle" the reality of her appearances at the Cova and the reports of the children, for which they were suffering much persecution; that this miracle would be a "sign" which would prove their good faith and convince the people of her coming and her message.

The Lady kept her word. On October 13, overwhelmed by the ever increasing public interest in doings at the Cova and in excited anticipation of the "great miracle" which the children had revealed the Lady had promised, a crowd of over 70,000 people, believers and unbelievers alike, gathered at the scene of the apparitions and saw an incredible phenomenon take place.

As the immense gathering milled in rain and mud around the little holm tree where the Lady had just been standing, in her sixth and last apparition, this multitude of people suddenly fell, all together, on their knees in the mud, moved by some irresistible impulse. Then it happened: "The sun! The sun! Look at the sun!", the cry went up. The pouring rain, which had been falling steadily all morning, stopped, the clouds parted, and the sun appeared to dim before their eyes. Then it suddenly began to whirl. Faster and faster it revolved, like a great wheel of fire. throwing off great shafts of color through the sky, over the clouds and down into their faces.

Held spellbound by this spectack in the heavens, the people forgot the three little shepherds, who were caught up in ecstasy in the new visions granted to them. They were seeing Our Lady, standing beside the sun in the heavens, with a rosary in her hand. Then she disappeared, and returned: in the tableaux of the holy mysteries of the Rosary; with St. Joseph holding the Infant Jesus; as Our Lady, Mother of Sorrows. Then Our Lord Himself appeared, in His glorified Manhood, to give His divine benediction to the multitude.

The sun had stopped its whirling but was still dimmed. The children then saw Our Lady, standing as it were in the sun, clad in Carmelite garb, reaching her Brown Scapular down to the crowd. This was her last appearance.

Then, when as Our Lady of the Scapular of Mount Carmel she had faded from their vision, the sun tore itself loose from the sky and began to hurtle down, down, lower and lower, streaking the atmosphere with its multi-hued flames and falling closer and closer to the terrified crowd, now groveling in the mud and rending the air with their screams of terror and cries for mercy.

Suddenly, just when it seemed that the end of the world had come and the sun would crash to earth, the phenoary

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menon ceased, and the sun was snapped back into the heavens. Raising their heads, they saw it shining in its normal place in the sky, and with its usual brilliance.

The entire miracle had lasted little more than ten minutes, yet there are no clouds in the sky now, although it had rained heavily for hours. In a silence accentuated by the uproar which preceded it, the crowd comes alive. People are feeling their clothes. They had been kneeling in puddles of water; the rain had been running down their backs. But their clothes are dry!

The "beautiful Lady" who had made her requests under such dire threats gave a terrifying, precedent-shattering public miracle to 70,000 witnesses to prove the authenticity of her message and to impress her message and her warnings on the minds and the hearts of millions of people throughout the world.

CONSECRATION TO THE IMMACULATE HEART

Fatima is more than Portuguese. Today it is attracting souls from the world's five continents. It offers a foretaste of that world unity promised by Our Lady and awaited with mingled fearfulness and hope by all mankind. Humble people everywhere see divine inspiration and common-sense wisdom in the call of Our Lady for consecration to her Immaculate Heart.

Americans are not guilty of the bru-

tal crimes committed by the communists everywhere. Theirs is the sin of indifference. Their days are too full to find time for God and the things of God. Housewives are busy washing, scrubbing, sewing, cooking, etc.; they have so little time to take sides with God against the forces of irreligion. The tensions and the strains of the hurried world of business and industry leave the working man exhausted-and with little time to parry the thrusts at God and His Church. Yes, we have but little time. Yet at Fatima Our Lady asked but little-the conscientious fulfillment of our daily duties, devotion to her Rosary, consecration to her Immaculate Heart.

How long will it take the "little people" of the world to awaken to the realization that they need not stand helplessly by while Christian civilization crashes around them? In her message at Fatima Our Lady is repeating a lesson taught by her Divine Son, that there is no more potent weapon for remaking the world than the Christian discharge of our daily duties.

In a spirit of penance, offer the sacrifices made each day in the line of duty for the conversion of sinners. Through Our Lady offer these daily trials to God. Offer to God both the effort made to practice the Christian virtues and the effort experienced to avoid personal sin.

God will not be denied. We can

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do nothing more certain of defeating the enemies of God than to serve God faithfully and consciously in the ordinary duties of our daily lives. The act of kindness performed out of love for God, the honest recognition of the just demands of our neighbor, refusal to spread gossip, or to attend an immoral show, these things are the answer to the disturbed conditions of our times.

Every day time can be found for these things and many more. This is the first lesson you will learn from devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary of Fatima—your Christian life is the most effective weapon against atheism, materialism, secularism, and a tremendous contribution to peace and prosperity.

During the June apparition at Fatima, our Lady of the Rosary raised aloft her cherished beads, recommending their fervent recitation to the entire world. As the three children looked on they suddenly beheld, in the radiant form standing over the little oak, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, illuminated with heavenly splendor. The Virgin seemed afflicted by the sins of the world and pleaded for penance and reparation. Later, she addressed these remarkable words to the little shepherdess, Lucy:

Behold my Heart, encircled by the thorns which ungrateful men thrust therein at every moment by their blasphemy and ingratitude. You, at least, try to console me, and tell them that I promise to assist at the hour of death, with the graces needed for salvation, whoever, on the First Saturday of five consecutive months, shall confess and receive Holy Communion, recite five decades of the Rosary, and keep me company for fifteen minutes while mediating on the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, with the intention of making reparation to me.

It should be noted here that Rome has given striking proof of its desire to promote devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary by consecrating the world to it, by extending the Office and Feast to the Universal Church and by attaching a plenary indulgence to the observance of each First Saturday.

In the Rosary and the Immaculate Heart of Mary we will find the strength to uphold Christian principles in the discharge of our daily duties. St. Paul tells us our "sufficiency is from God." Through prayer and meditation God is made to supply for our weakness. But the Rosary and the Immaculate Heart of Mary are more than symbols of devotion and life. Our Lady repeatedly indicated them as the means which God has appointed to bring contemporary society to the feet of Christ.

They are objective and concrete expressions of a divine injunction, definite means specified by a personal God to counteract and destroy the wave of universal impiety threatening to engulf the world. They are the sign of Satan's defeat and the glorious promise of our triumph.

Social Justice Needs Social Charity

WILLIS MCNELLY

Reprinted from CONCORD*

IF MY knowledge of the actions proper in a chemistry laboratory is not realistic, I may suddenly cease to exist as a result of my blundering. Even with good will, an unrealistic theory might turn my efforts to nothing, or deter the advancement of the reconstruction of society which is my aim.

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Primarily, I am concerned here with temporal action. The theory for action aimed at the reconstruction of the social order has been stated with all the papal realism in the documents of the modern pontiffs. Catholics are obliged by prudence and obedience to accept that theory with an internal assent. The popes express the hope that the realism of their theory will bring all men of good will to work for the realization of their theory, the reconstruction of the social order. At some point along the line, however, the process of communicating this doctrine is breaking down.

The greatest obstruction is the almost total ignorance on the part of the Church's members of the fact that the Church has ordered them to work on its projects. But I am not presently concerned with this colossal unawareness in the case of the great

majority of American Catholics. Rather I am interested in what happens to dam up the flow of knowledge in that small percentage of American Catholics who know at least that the papacy has spoken.

Within this core of awareness there are, it appears to me, two erroneous interpretations of the papal theory of temporal action. Each of these fixes upon a part of the doctrine and takes that part for the whole. Hence, each distorts the true meaning of the doctrine into something unrealistic. Each consequently deters the work which the doctrine enjoins.

The first of these is the interpretation of the "spirituals." The groups coming under this classification can be recognized by their doctrines of "radical non-participation" and practically exclusive dependence on spiritual means. I am aware that not all groups in this class would accept this formulation of their doctrine. It seems to me, however, that this is what their interpretation implies.

Now before going further, I should like to make several things clear. One is that I am not forgetting or underestimating the contribution these groups have made to the life of the Church in America. I remember what those courageous old store fronts meant in the gray days of the thirties. I appreciate, too, that the heroic seed-efforts of the founders and participants are responsible for much of what, if it is God's will, is to be accomplished in the decades to come. I am merely insisting that our older formulae must be superseded by what we now know of the papal doctrine.

The popes do not envision the reconstruction of the social order without social justice. And the act of social justice, as Ferree has shown us, is organizing and participating in the institutions of the temporal order.

The other school of interpretation is that of the "naturalists." For all its show of worldly wisdom, this school is really guilty of an unrealistic naiveté. By its implicit (and what Catholic could make it explicit and still maintain it?) insistence on the exclusive use of temporal means in reconstructing the social order, it reduces the papal theory to something like the invitation, "Let's all join the daisy chain."

I know it may be said that all this is an apologetic to the liberals. The error creeps in, however, of mistaking the aspect we are intent upon showing the liberals for the whole of the social teaching of the Church. Further, in this day, when the conflict is one of mystiques, when the challenge is radical and total, there is a serious ques-

tion whether apologetics of any type have anything more than a depressed value. At any rate, as Murray has remarked, what the spirit needs to fortify itself against infection from our secularist environment is "solid nourishment and exercise in the full-orbed sun of Christ, the light of the world; medicine, minor surgery, isolation, and the careful application of little apologetic 'band-aids' here and there will not suffice."

THE REMEDY

The remedy for groups in both schools is quite obviously to come to gether in the acceptance of the full papal doctrine. For the "spirituals," this requires the realization that the reconstruction of the temporal order needs the prosaic work of organizing the organs of the social body. Participation is an obligation of social justice. And any dream of substituting "martyrdom" for participation is not only unrealistic, but it smacks of presumption.

For the "naturalists," coming together in the acceptance of the full doctrine will mean facing the possibility that their morris-dance with the liberals is over. They will have to get down to their real job—joining hands with the reformed "spirituals" and insuring that the social charity necessary for the working of social justice is brought to the temporal order and given incarnation there.

That, it seems to me, is what the

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papal theory demands: a realization that individual or unorganized efforts are simply impotent to make community. Social or organized action is the means of building the social body.

But because the organizations of social justice, like all things human after the Fall, are subject to the effects of original sin, they have a certain insufficiency for the achievement of their goal. To be successful, efforts to organize community require the aid of supernatural energies.

Social justice needs social charity.

The concrete terms of the papal directives means for Catholics that, formed by and active in Catholic

Action, they will likewise be among the most devoted and active participants in the organizations of the temporal order.

This, then, is the realism of the papal theory. It rejects the angelism of the "spirituals" and it repudiates the childish optimism of the "naturallists." Remember, however, that it is only childish optimism that is excluded. Merely because the Church takes cognizance of the reality of original sin, it does not accept the remark of the Russian philosopher, Fedor Stepun, that the only true definition of a people is "a community of guilt before God."

Essential of Social Reform

Hobhouse, concluding the discussion of Christianity for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, develops the thought that the realist, whose natural sympathies are all with knowledge, will recognize that the scientific view in social applications has suffered from crudities and limitations, and economic advance has been responsible for oppressions and degradations of standards to which essential Christianity is a great corrective. Not accepting the speculative foundations of Christianity, such a thinker is free to criticize its judgments and may not even accept all its principles of valuation, but he knows that the essence of its social teaching must be absorbed into anything that can call itself a rational reorganization of society.—

J. Andrew Simmons in the Interracial Review, New York, N. Y., October, 1947.

Where There is No Vision

Reprinted from PEOPLE AND FREEDOM®

HERE there is no vision the people perish," say the Scriptures. It is the statement of a plain, sociological fact, which Don Sturzo, indeed, has analyzed in his *Inner Laws of Society*, showing how every form of community, the family as the nation, will be rent asunder by the egoism of its component members unless the tie binding it together is more than material, and unity is cemented by an ideal, a common purpose, in which man's spiritual exigencies find satisfaction.

This fact has now received remarkable recognition from a member of the British Cabinet whose special domain might be mistakenly considered as enclosed within the material order. Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, on May 11 preached a sermon in a Birmingham Church in which he affirmed that "what is lacking today in the industrial effort of this country is the Christian approach, the Christian background. A merely materialistic concentration on work cannot give high morale."

During a war, awareness of the need for an ideal to spur men to fight and die goes uncontested. Hitler proclaimed his New Order. Churchill and Roosevelt replied by the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. The bare alternative: "Conquer or be conquered," was not enough. Its post-war equivalent: "Work or Want" can be no more efficacious.

That unhappy slogan is one of many signs of a desiccating materialism, shaping the public outlook. The workers still sing: "The Internationale unites the human race. . . " yet see in foreign workers (Poles who shared in the glories of the 8th Army, Italians who brought their trade-unions back to life in the Allied service under the German terror) merely competitors for jobs. Few of the younger generation know the noble Chartist hymn, still sung a generation ago at Labor Party rallies:

When wilt thou save the people,
Lord God of mercy, when?
The people, Lord, the people,
Not crowns, not thrones, but men.
Flowers of Thy heart O Lord are they....

^{* 32} Chepstow Villas, London, W. 11, England, June, 1947

That Blake's Jerusalem is still sung, indeed, is witness to a craving for a more than material vision in the human heart, but often its singing seems a survival only.

It was from the Christian dynamic that the great progressive conceptions of the last century drew their force, even though their source went unrecognized: the brotherhood of man, a sense of nationhood quickened by Mazzini's dream of the mission of the nations for the regeneration of the world, the raising of the dignity of the masses.

Cut from their roots, these conceptions have lost their potency. They need to be reaffirmed, and with them the value of man as man, man's duty to his fellowman, the Gospel teaching that all are members of one another. It is for those who guide and shape public opinion to cease to suggest that the self-query: "What can I get?" is as honorable as "What can I give?" And this for the nation as well as the individual.

It is well to remember the strength which both Fascism (in its transient heyday) and Nazism drew from exploitation, not of brutal instincts only, but of the generosity of youth, by their reiterated demands for "sacrifice," "dedication," and that the far-reaching range of Communism comes from an appeal that is not made to barren self-interest.

A spirit of renewal is needed, able to kindle the will of men who, by their very nature, cannot live by bread alone. It can come only from that Spirit, of which we are told that it "will renew the face of the earth."

De-contamination

"The process that is glibly labeled 'converting the converted' is, in reality, a necessary job of de-contamination. The catechism lessons learned in preparation for First Communion and Confirmation might, ideally, be sufficient direction for a whole Catholic lifetime. But we do not live in an ideal world nor do we have always about us the protection of childhood. Much mental mud flies in the marketplace and it is no respecter of the Catholic mind that happens to be in the line of fire. 'Converting the converted,' perhaps, but hardly 'saving the saved'."—John Donahue in Columbia, February, 1947.

Outlook for Germany

PAUL CRANE, S. J.

Reprinted from the CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD LEAFLET, "Outlook for Germany".

THE London Conference between the four Foreign Ministers will decide whether Germany will be allowed a more effective share in her own destiny or whether she will be condemned to drag through another weary winter with her economic and political life dictated not by the true realities of her position, but by the vagaries of power politics. For that is how it has been so far and it is that which is driving the heart out of the Germans, condemning the best of them now to a level of hopelessness already shared by the great mass of their countrymen. If the despair and hunger continue, Germany must collapse, taking with her to destruction the western countries of Europe. That is the fact which has to be faced and surmounted if Europe is to survive.

THE LEGACY OF POTSDAM

The trouble began at Potsdam and Potsdam is now past history, but its effects are still pressing hard on the German people. It was there that the lunacy began. The agreement then signed is best seen as a half-hearted compromise between a desire for heavy vengeance and a somewhat muddled realization that the only sane

policy for Germany was to set the country firmly on its feet, not to dominate Europe, but to play a worthy part in its revival. In the event Germany was not destroyed, but she was only just allowed to live. pro

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The defeated country was stripped of much of its territory. What remained was placed under Allied control and divided amongst the victors into four Zones of occupation. Into these Zones and particularly into that which was in Britain's charge, there poured a flood of refugees, who had somehow or other to be supported by a broken economy under uncertain, alien direction. The original idea at Potsdam was to grant Germany a standard of living no higher than the average enjoyed by European countries excluding Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., but the expression of that desire was coupled in the Agreement with a reparations policy based on the removal of plant and not, as it should have been, on payment in kind from the end-product of a vigorous, but carefully watched industrial effort.

Within a very short time after the publication of the Agreement it was clear to all but the Signatories that the execution of its reparations

* Catholic Social Guild, Oxford, England.

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clauses, together with those which provided for the dismantling and destruction of industrial war potential. would make it a matter of the greatest difficulty for the German people to attain the meagre standard of life which it allowed them. This, quite apart from the adverse effects exercised on the country's living standards by the flood of refugees driven into Germany from the Borderlands, the retention abroad of able-bodied German prisoners, the initial tendency of the Allies to give first priority, especially in the matter of coal, to reparations and the destruction of war potential.

ALLIED FUMBLING

The Allies seemed uncertain as to the amount of industrial capacity needed by the Germans to enable them , to live at the Potsdam standard. This uncertainty communicated itself to their direction of the German economy and left it in a state of semiparalysis. Everywhere there was a lack of certainty, a faltering muddleheadedness, which first bewildered the Germans and then drove them deep into despair. The effect was particularly severe on those (and they were not few) who had placed their faith in the Allies and particularly in Great Britain. Having hoped for firm friendliness and a chance to make good they were rewarded with the futile tinkering of an incompetent and alien bureaucracy. They saw their people

drifting into economic disaster and they could do nothing about it. Germany became a giant slum with its population living on public relief supplied by the Allies, who were forced by the crazy logic of Potsdam to pay annually to a defeated enemy large sums of reparations in reverse. Germany was condemned to a hand-to-mouth existence which had to be financed from abroad.

It would be wrong, however, to blame Potsdam for the whole of Germany's present economic plight. It must be remembered that the effective realization of even the low standard of living dictated by the Potsdam Agreement presupposed the treatment of Germany by the four Powers as a single economic unit. That has never been achieved. From the very start Russian intransigence turned her zonal boundary into a political and economic frontier whilst she bled the German East white so as to secure from it as much as she could by way of reparations. Economically, Germany was truncated along a vital line and what small chance of industrial recovery she had was enormously retarded since it was now no longer possible for any exchange of goods to take place between the industrial West and the predominantly agricultural East.

The British Zone was hit hardest of all by the lack of economic balance imposed by Russian obduracy and so it was the first to fall into the vicious circle of insufficient food, lowered vi-

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tality, declining output, less food. That fact, together with their natural humanitarianism, turned the British strongly away from the Potsdam level and in the direction of German self-support as the target of their economic endeavor. In this they were joined by the Americans, who first inflicted on their Zone a brief bout of something very close to pastoralization and were then drawn to adopt the same policy as the British by their own humanitarian ideals and the menace revealed by Russian intransigence.

Both Powers sought an upward revision of the levels dictated by Potsdam and the March (1946) Plan for the level of German industry. At first the endeavor of both was to do so in cooperation with Russia and the price of their endeavor was paid by the Germans in terms of a prolongation of their state of semi-starvation and depressed, helpless uncertainty. Russia's tactics served for a time to obscure the issues which divided her from the Western Powers, but eventually they became clear enough and at Moscow last March they were perfectly plain for all to see. The least price demanded by Russia for an upward revision of the Potsdam level and for the economic, to say nothing of the political, unification of Germany was a share in the control of the Ruhr and the payment by Germany to Russia of reparations out of current production as a first charge of German industry. These terms the Allies

refused because they would have made German economic recovery impossible and because they would in effect have forced Great Britain and the United States to pay German reparations to Russia. The first aim, they argued, was to make Germany self-supporting. Any surplus from German production was to be used firstly to cover occupation costs and then to meet reparations claims. That is their rightful position and to it they must stick at all costs.

RUSSIAN DISTRUST OF THE WEST

At the Moscow Conference Russia showed her plunder mentality. Her reception of the Marshall offer showed her ideological distrust of any kind of economic cooperation with the West and her determination to lie low behind a cluster of vassal state and wait for the opportunity which she thinks will be hers when the next American slump thrusts down into turmoil that part of Europe linked close to America by economic ties. In all probability, then, Germany will remain divided and it will be for Great Britain and the United States to base their plans on this probability and to proceed vigorously with the reconstruction of their Zones now united economically. It would be outrageous to permit further German suffering in the interests of a possible rapprochement with Russia at some dim date in the distant future. German unity must be accomplished either on the terms laid down by the West2ry

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ern Powers or not at all. It is time this was made perfectly clear and it would be fatal if the Western Allies allowed themselves to be diverted from the good progress so far made in their own unified Zones by hazy Russian promises of future cooperation.

The work accomplished to date by the Western Powers began with the economic fusion of the two Zones at the end of 1946 and proceeded after several difficult months to the theoretical realization by the unified Zones last June of a high degree of economic unity and self-government. The existing administrative machinery is cumbersome and by no means perfect, but it represents a definite step forward and one has every right to hope that it will soon be simplified further and that in the meantime considerable economic progress will be made. Difficulties to date in the unified Zones are being overcome, desperately slowly it is true, but there is a tendency to learn from past mistakes, which gives hope of better things in the not too distant future. Perhaps the greatest single need at the moment is to reduce the numbers of the bureaucracy particularly in the British Zone and to begin as soon as possible a policy which can best be summed up as the substitution of supervision at key points for niggling interference, which spends most of its wasteful time taking refuge behind forms.

The good work so far accomplished

has been speeded up by an increased realization that the Ruhr is the hub of that integrated European economy envisaged by the Marshall Plan and that on its health depends the future of a soundly reconstructed Europe. Practically, that has meant a further revision upwards of permitted industrial output with the level of steel output set at 10.7 million ingot tons and the taking of combined Anglo-American action to stimulate the output of Ruhr coal. Understandably this has been hard for France to bear, but her opposition to the plan providing for a new level of German industry and published on August 30, 1947, was neither as emphatic nor as disgruntled as it might have been. It may be that influential sectors of French opinion are beginning to realize the inevitable and are prepared to assent to it gradually and in a manner that does the least possible damage to the uneasy equilibrium of France's very delicate political situation. The day may not be far distant when the French Zone is united economically to those of Britain and the United States.

THE IMMEDIATE CONDITION OF SUCCESS

It must be remembered, in conclusion, that the moderate amount of good so far accomplished will be destroyed and recovery in the future made practically impossible unless two steps are taken at once. Firstly, the wretched ration of 1,550 calories

per day for normal consumers must be honored this winter. Because of the grave damage done to the potato and grain crops by the drought and because of the disastrous nature of the meat and fats position at the beginning of September, 1947, imports of flour, fats and meat will have to be on a greater scale than is at present envisaged. If this is not done, then Germany will be condemned to rot and starve for another winter. I doubt whether she will ever recover from such an ordeal. Secondly, a stop must be put to the dismantling and scrapping of German industrial potential not required by the latest plan providing for a new level of German industry. To inaugurate such a dismal process at the beginning of a German winter and in the midst of a halfstarved population is not only crassly stupid, but incredibly cruel. It represents the blundering of an incompetent bureaucracy at its very worst. It it takes place it will lose us our best friends in Germany and drive the people of that unhappy country into still blacker despair. And how on earth can democracy be built on a policy which makes machine-breaking and starvation its foremost short-term objectives?

Conclusion

This survey has been brief. Much more might still be said. Its main purpose has been to present a picture in which undue prominence is given neither to light nor shade. Its main conclusion is that now—this winter—is the critical time for Germany and the West. If the opportunity is lost it may never be recovered.

Catholicity of the Church

"Christian is my name, and Catholic my surname. The former qualifies me, the latter manifests me for what I am. The latter demonstrates what the former signifies. And, if finally I must explain the word Catholic and translate it from Greek into the Roman idiom, Catholic means 'one everywhere,' or, as the more learned think, 'obedience to all the commandments of God.'"—St. Pacianus of Barcelona, Ep. I, ad Sympronianum, C. 4, in Migne's Patrologia latina (MPL) XIII, 1055.

A Pastor to His People

H. A. REINHOLD

Text of a letter sent to his rural parishioners during Holy Week, 1947 by the Pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Sunnyside, Washington.

CEVEN years ago our bishop had Us priests explain from the pulpit the teaching of the Church on social and economic problems of our times. This was not done only to give us the proud feeling that the Church had an answer to Communism or Fascism or the reckless and predatory variety of capitalism condemned by Christ and his Vicars. We were not supposed to sit back more comfortably afterwards and to assume that after proclaiming fine principles we could turn to the order of the day. It was a call to awaken our social conscience, to start us on the road of hard thinking and to give us a good boost in our climbing the narrow and steep path of the betterment of our conditions.

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It is not only a Christian, but also an American principle always to think of improvements and to plan and work for a better future. Another deep-rooted American and Christian principle is respect for the other man, his dignity, his rights, his well-being, and his getting a fair deal.

But even if we were selfish and narrow-minded people, there is always something to keep us on our toes—in this case Communism, which feeds on class hatred, injustice, disregard for our weaker neighbor and neglect of our duties as Christians. While we can let the courts, the police, the government and our legislators see to it that no organized revolutionary gets enough of a toehold in our society to overthrow it, that is not all! Every Christian and citizen must be vigilant over himself not to give a pretext for agitators, for class hatred, for accusations of injustice. "The salt of the earth" is what Our Lord called us-to keep interior dry rot from our society. Remember the late War, 1940-the Maginot Line in France? It was the finest, most modern, strongest fortification, but it was of no avail, because there was a crack in it and the organization that was to use it had rotted, lost its head and run away.

What does this mean here? What can our employers, especially farmers, do? How can we apply these principles to ourselves, here and now?

We must realize that by going to church on Sundays and avoiding sin we are not yet full Christians. Christ wants more: He wants a Christian employer to be a good master. What a good master is is shown in His commands and the Sermon on the Mount, apart from His own example.

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"Am I my brother's keeper?" said Cain after murdering Abel, his brother. This new sin was worse than his murderous deed. We are not only keepers of our brothers, but we have to love them as ourselves. Ask yourselves these questions:

SOME SEARCHING QUESTIONS

1. Do I have and show respect to my hired men, office help and farm labor as fellow human beings, irrespective of color and creed?

2. Do I do more than that by manifesting personal interest and sympathy? Or does my relationship end with bossing their work, giving them a pay-check and "notice" when I need them no more?

3. Do I know how they live, whether or not wife and children are taken care of? Do I know how they are being treated by my business friends?

4. If they live on my place, are the cabins and tents, the toilets and washrooms, the alleys and garbage dumps in such condition that I would ask my own brother to live there? Have I ever done anything to help people who have had no education in hygiene and healthy living to better their lives? Is my wife a distant and aloof lady bountiful, or is she a kind visitor, helper and advisor of the mothers, wives and daughters of the men who sweat and work to eke out a living?

5. When I hire men and women who are Catholics, do I customarily inform them that we have four Churches? Do I offer to take them to Church; their children to catechism? Do I let them know that I naturally expect them to fulfill their religious duties and that I want to help them to do so, by giving them my truck on Sundays?

We as Catholics cannot fall into that abominable heresy which regards poverty as a disgrace-Christ loved the poor and was poor himself. It is simply not thinking like 1 Catholic-remember St. Francis of Assisi?—if we assume that our possessions or our better homes, our more comfortable way of living manifest that we are the elect and the friends of God. Our more comfortable way of living may well be come an obstacle, if we forget that we only hold our property in trust for God. We will have to give an account of what we did with itwhether or not we practiced the works of mercy, not so much in drive and campaigns as in our own back vard: "Charity begins at home."

The season of farm work has begun. We have hundreds of seasonal workers with us. They are your responsibility now. To open their heart for Christ and his priests you will have to pave the way by your humane, sympathetic and brotherly actions.

Acreage Limitation in Reclamation Projects

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, S.J.

Associate Editor of AMERICA

Statement before the Irrigation and Reclamation Sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, May 12, 1947.

ON BEHALF of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference I wish to express appreciation for this opportunity to express the Conference's views on the subject of acreage limitation in reclamation projects, the repeal or modification of which is proposed in several bills now pending before the committee.

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The National Catholic Rural Life Conference is an organization of nation-wide scope, comprised bishops, priests and lay persons, whose objective is to further the religious and the socio-economic welfare of those living by agriculture or simply residing in the rural areas. In matters affecting the land it expresses the interests of eighty-three dioceses, practically all of them predominantly rural in character. Official relations with these dioceses, are maintained through the diocesan directors designated by their local bishops. Within the dioceses actively affected by the program of the conference are 24,570 priests, 91,700 religious, and over 13,000,000 lay Catholics. The conference headquarters is located in Des Moines, Iowa.

The position taken by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference on the subject of acreage limitation is based upon its concern for the future of our American families and its conviction that needless concentration of productive capital will seriously affect the social and economic life of the nation in the years ahead.

The conference takes a long-range view in considering the land and is therefore more interested in the net effect of present trends in agriculture upon the nation as a whole than in the prospect of immediate financial gain for a minor portion of our population. It takes the position that any small savings effected in the price of food for urban dwellers through unregulated agricultural development will be more than canceled out by the social and economic loss incurred.

In the colonial period of our history and during the early years of the Republic large farms, with resulting concentration of productive capital, were fairly common in certain parts of the eastern seaboard. First indentured servants and later slaves were used in great numbers to cultivate these semi-feudal estates. In New England, however, and in the upper Middle Atlantic States the family-type farm was the rule. At first it

was on the subsistence-homestead pattern but as the years went on these farms were integrated into the rest of the economy.

CONCENTRATED LAND-OWNERSHIP

During the nineteenth century the American people, convinced that wide distribution of ownership among families living on the land is more in accord with our democratic ideals, progressively rejected the semi-feudal pattern and accepted the family-type farm as the norm. When the West developed, this ideal was kept in mind. At this point I would like to quote from the report of the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning:

Agriculture is the cornerstone of our economy. The independence of the Nation was won by the stubborn resistance of the subsistence farmers who made up the greater part of the population in the early vears. American agriculture, throughout its development, was characterized by individual, family-sized, owneroperated farms. This contributed greatly to the independent spirit and the moral character of the entire population and was the backbone of our political and economic democracy as they developed in America. (Tenth Report of the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning: Postwar Agricultural Policies. (August 6, 1947, 79th Cong., 2d sess.; H. Rept. No. 2728.)

The corporate and semi-feudal patterns of farming, to the extent to which they persist, have been a constant source of trouble to our Federal, State and local Governments. Associated with the large-scale farms are abuses requiring Government intervention and the expenditure of public funds. In this way the Nation as a whole has been called upon to subsidize their claimed efficiency. If public moneys are to be spent for the benefit of agriculture - and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference has no objection to their wise expenditure -it should be directly for the wides possible number of our rural people rather than indirectly to remedy conditions resulting from corporate exploitation of the land for expanding profits.

Among the abuses arising from the unregulated exploitation of the land may be counted: Impoverishment of the soil and the preparing of the war for serious erosion and floods: land speculation; exploitation of agricultural workers and the encouragement of a migratory class of seasonal workers: the importation of persons from other countries with no other purpose than to secure cheap agriculture labor. The over-all outcome of large-scale commercial farming has been the tendency to cut production costs without regard for the consequences upon our natural resources, our people, or upon the legitimately competing family farmer.

While the plight of our own rural proletarian class of agricultural workers, by and large, has not been as bad as that of such workers in other r

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countries, we must not close our eyes to the dangers. Looking abroad, we see that the growth of great landed estates and large commercial farms has long since harmed such countries as Germany, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Italy, certain Latin-American nations, Japan, the Philippines, much of the Orient and Middle East. In these countries the concentration of land ownership has been accompanied by underdevelopment of agricultural resources, the withholding of land from cultivation, and the proletarianization of many rural people with resulting restiveness on their part. When this situation is accompanied by industrial under-development, the whole economy is endangered, for in such case productivity does not keep up with population. Even when there is sufficient industrialization to absorb excess rural population and to forestall the full effects of concentrated land ownership, the general effect of such concentration has been the loss of a sense of ownership among more and more of the people, and the growth of a corresponding willingness to accept radical socio-economic reforms. Widespread ownership in agricultural land is the surest safeguard against the threat of collectivized agriculture and the best means of forestalling popular demands for governmental expropriation of land and its redistribution after the concentration has become an accomplished fact. The land policy of the United States

should be directed toward preventing the evil of excessively concentrated land ownership from arising. This is much simpler than attempting to cure the abuse once it has taken root. Our country is not immune to the disease even though in our highly technological society it may take somewhat different forms than it has elsewhere in the past.

Of more than passing interest is the attitude of our Government toward the correction of land abuses abroad. In Germany we have looked with favor upon the plans of recor stituted political parties to effect proper distribution of land. In Japan a memorandum to the Japanese Government from the General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, under date of December 5, 1945, treated of rural land reform. Point 3 ordered the Japanese Government to submit a plan for correcting abuses. Certain of the provisions are especially noteworthy:

This program shall contain plans for:

- a. Transfer of land ownership from absentee land owners to land operators.
- Provision for purchase of farm lands from nonoperating owners at equitable rates.
- c. Provisions for tenant purchase of land at annual installments commensurate with tenant income.
- d. Provisions for reasonable protection of former tenants against re-

version to tenancy status. (AG 602.6 (9 Dec. 45) CIE.)

ACREAGE TRENDS IN UNITED STATES

The January 1947 issue of Agricultural Situation presented a factual summary of contemporary land trends within the United States. Without entering into a sociological discussion it provides us with facts of interest to all concerned with the welfare of our rural population. The statistics provided in the summary show that—

1. The number of larger farms is increasing substantially throughout the country. Large commercial enterprises are progressively taking the place of family-size farms, although in many places the size of this latter type farm is also increasing.

2. Over half of the farm land in the country is in units of over 500 acres, and units over 1,000 acres now account for 40 per cent of the farm land, compared with less than one-fourth after the First World War.

3. Well over two-thirds of the large farm units of over 1,000 acres are in 11 Western States. In that region the increase in such units has been 90 per cent within the last quarter-century.

4. In 1920 farms between 10 and 500 acres made up two-thirds of all farm land, today only half.

5. The moderate-size farm, 100 to 260 acres, is on the decline. The percentage of farms falling into this category is lowest in the Far West,

and greatest in the East where the traditional family-type farm pattern has been maintained better than elsewhere. The decline in the number of such moderate-size farms has been most persistent in the regions settled by homesteading.

These facts, as well as others readily available from the censuses of agriculture and the general census, lead to certain conclusions not drawn in the survey in *Agricultural Situation* referred to above. These conclusions are:

1. American land policy, although favoring the family-type farm in the era of settlement of the West as evidenced in the homestead acts, was not sufficiently vigorous in restricting acreages. The institution of fee simple ownership stood in the way of Federal restriction upon acreage once title to the property had been secured. Yet even in the period of original settlement our Federal land laws allowed too much room for speculation in newly entered lands and did not resist strongly enough those who wished to engage in agriculture as a business on an absentee-ownership basis.

2. The unit size of an economically efficient family-type farm is not the same in all localities. The 160-acre norm is merely an approximation. Although in semi-arid regions large units are needed, in more fertile and productive regions smaller units are quite satisfactory and therefore, from the family-farm viewpoint, more desir-

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able. Much of the land in the areas being reclaimed through irrigation is of such character. Where larger units are found within the irrigation and reclamation projects, it is usually evidence of a trend toward land speculation or large-scale commercial farming.

3. The time to forestall the evils of land concentration and land speculation is at the time of original acquisition and during the period when the original settlers are developing family-type farms on moderate acreages.

From past experience it should be evident that we are entering a crucial period for the family-type farm. If positive steps are not taken to keep commercial agriculture within bounds and to prevent speculation in land, we can only look forward to an increasing number of factories-in-the-fields. employing hired labor often of a migratory kind and exploiting our soil resources solely for purposes of profit. There is no purpose in proclaiming the ideal of the efficient, owner-operated family-type farm if we do not take steps to protect it from the inroads of land monopoly.

THE FAMILY FARM

Let me say at the outset that in advocating the family-type farm the National Catholic Rural Life Conference is not unaware of the economic problems facing American agriculture. It realizes that upward of a third of our farms as at present constituted are marginal or submarginal in character and therefore cannot provide adequate income for a farm family. The Conference believes that these farm units should be improved by assisting the owner-operators to improve the quality of the soil where possible, to acquire larger acreage if that is a feasible solution, or to resettle elsewhere if necessary. When new land is being made available through reclamation and irrigation, family farmers desiring resettlement should be given first choice, provided they are prepared to learn new farming techniques necessary for the operation of an efficient unit.

The Conference realizes also that the productive capacities of modern American agriculture are today so great that fewer fulltime farmers are necessary to provide our people with adequate food and fiber and to engage in export than was the case a halfcentury ago. Yet despite this fact, or rather because of it, the conference does not see why corporations and large landowners should be permitted to take over our agricultural production when family farmers are perfectly able to do the job. This they can do, given the necessary education and the equipment adapted to the needs of family-size farming operations.

The relationship of the family to the land has been well expressed in a statement issued jointly by rural leaders of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths during 1945.

Since the family is the primary institution, access to the land and stewardship of land must be planned with the family unit in view. The special adaptability of the farm house for nurturing strong and wholesome family life is the reason for the universal interest in land use and rural welfare. A unique relationship exists between the family and the vocation of agriculture. The farm is the natural habitat of the family. The familv's welfare must therefore have the first consideration in economic and social planning. Throughout the history of the United States these fundamental principles have been worked out through National and State legislation, and they have been upheld by court decisions and popular acclaim.

Efficiency in land use is not to be judged merely by material production but by a balanced consideration of the spiritual, social and material values that redound therefrom to person, family and society. The land is not to be a source of benefit to a favored few and a means of servile labor to the many.

Second only to making land available to the family is the responsibility of society to encourage and to educate the land stewards in the proper and efficient use of the land and in such techniques as will make them masters of their own economic destiny. ("Man's Relation to the Land." cf. CATHOLIC MIND, January, 1946, pp. 48-50.)

Three of the methods suggested in this statement for practical application of the principles are especially worth noting:

Make the family-type farm operated by the owner a major objective of legislation and planning.

Discourage large land holdings as undemocratic and unsocial.

Where large-scale production is necessary and advisable, encourage the use of cooperative techniques with local ownership and management.

In contrast to the reasonable economic security of a family operating an efficient farm unit is the insecurity of seasonal agricultural workers, whose existence makes possible large-scale farming operations. The hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers who may rightly be called migratory form a definitely depressed class within our economy.

Migratory workers receive a wage only a fraction of the going wage in nearby industry. As often as not. they are exploited because of their race or foreign origin and rarely do they or their families have the economic, educational, religious and social advantages of families living a more stable kind of life. But even apart from the migratory workers, largescale farming operations presuppose readily available quantities of cheap labor at the proper seasons. It is all part of the pattern. During the week ending September 11, 1943, for example, 75,000 people were employed in seasonal work in California's Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys alone. The picture is the same wherever unduly large commercial operations replace the family-farm unit. In view of our American traS

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ditions of economic and political democracy, it hardly seems necessary to emphasize the undesirable character of such insecure agricultural employment.

EFFECTS OF DIVERGENT FARM PATTERNS

Ownership of productive property lends stability to the family. When this ownership is in land, it gives it additional security even in times of depression. While our agricultural people suffered much during the depression of the thirties, few of them were without food. In fact many additional families took to the land and rural living just to tide themselves over the depression. An owneroperator farm unit gives a family, in addition to relative economic security. the light, space and air which the family needs for its proper development. Add the benefits of satisfactory rural education, improved roads, rural electrification, and the improvements modern farm and dwelling buildings can have, and it can be readily seen that family living on the land can be made a genuine bulwark of the family and of democracy. On the other hand propertyless workers, especially without roots in any one community, are the natural breeding ground for collectivism.

The study of the towns, Arvin and Dinuba, within California's Central Valley, provides good examples of the two types of farming community which can evolve. The results of the

study were included in the report of the Senate Small Business Committee made last December and are well known to everyone interested in rural welfare. An article comparing these towns appeared in the New Republic for February 3, 1947. I quote from the article:

These two towns prove that a small-farm community is a good place to live in and that a large farm one is not. When a farmer owns 50 acres they make a home for him and his children, but when he owns a 2,000-acre farm it becomes a money-making factory and deprives 39 other families of real homes. It boils down to this. Is it better to have 39 wage-labor families with no homes and one owner who only wants to make a killing, or to have 40 families living on 50-acre farms making good livings and providing good homes for their children?

The supposition is, of course, that fifty acres is sufficient for an efficient family unit. In some irrigated spots this has already been demonstrated as adequate, but normally larger units are required. In any case the point is clear. For every undue expansion of an individual's or corporation's land holdings, there is a corresponding restriction of opportunity for widespread private ownership by families.

The position of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference is, briefly, that economics has for its end the providing of man's material needs, not the accumulation of profits. Any system of production is to be judged in the last analysis upon its respect for man's inherent rights and its

capacity for producing the goods needed and distributing them to the largest number of persons. The family-type farm system does just that. Acreage limitations provisions are directed to the same end.

One of the arguments brought forward by those who favor repeal of the acreage limitations is that the restrictions hold up production of agricultural products and hence mean higher food prices for urban dwellers. In their minds the disadvantages flowing from corporate exploitation of the land are offset by certain economic gains supposed to occur. The goal they set up as the end of economic life is the maximization of national income irrespective of its distribution. The effect upon our natural and human resources is either disregarded or accepted as the inevitable consequences of impersonal economic laws

This approach to the land question is obviously inadequate. Concern for the welfare of the family and for the distribution of private property mur also be taken into consideration. If they are not, we will drift gradually but surely into collectivism, under private auspices it is true, but nontheless collectivism. Such a situation -the logical outcome of encouraging large-scale holdings in land as in other productive resources—is but a ster from governmental collectivism and state capitalism. Far from being so cialistic and communistic, the acrease limitation provisions of our reclamation laws are bulwarks against communism. On the constructive side they are aids in building the moral physical and economic health of our American families.

THE CATHOLIC MIND

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